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INTRODUCTION

TO THE "DOCUMENTS CHINOIS DÉCOUVERTS par Aurel STEIN dans les Sables du Turkestan Oriental"

by

Edouard CHAVANNES

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Translated from the French

by

Madame Edouard CHAVANNES and H. Wilfred HOUSE

FOREWORD

M. Stein has thought fit to entrust to me the study of the Chinese documents, written for the most part on wood, which he has recovered from the sands of central Asia. This was a formidable honour, and I was not slow to appreciate the fact when I found myself faced with about two thousand fragments, which had to be examined one by one through a magnifying glass, in order to distinguish between those which could not be used and those capable of being deciphered. Having thus eliminated one-half of the wooden slips that constitute tho great mass of these texts, I had to read those which remained, to classify them in groups,

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and to translate them into French. To succæd in this undertaking I have availed myself of various helpers whom I am happy to mention here. In the first place, I have had at my disposal the transcription which had been produced by M. Stein's "lettré," Mr. Chiang Hsiao-yüan 蔣孝琬; but the latter had only made a hurried reading such as is possible in the course of a journey, and it left unsolved nearly all the real difficulties. Later, I had the good fortune to meet in Paris two Chinese students who interested themselves in my researches with a goodwill that was of infinite value to me. With Mr. Wu Ch'in-hsün 吳勤訓 I studied all the slips again, and, as a result, the text of many of them has been fixed in a manner that leaves no doubt. But a great number of problems still remained unsolved, and I therefore undertook the task of making comparisons, collecting together all the slips on which any doubtful character appeared. By this method it was possible to carry the interpretation further. Finally, assisted by Mr. Wei Huai 魏懷, I proceeded to make a general revision which enabled me to correct many errors. I wish to express here my gratitude to Mr. Wu 吳 and Mr. Wei 魏.

The publication of this volume was undertaken by the representative of the Oxford University Press, with the help of a grant from the Secretary of State for India. For that assistance I am profoundly grateful.

What was the right method to follow in publishing these documents? I might have confined myself to the inclusion of only those of which the sense was certain. I should in that case have disregarded those of which the reading was doubtful or the translation hypothetical, and I should have omitted all those which were too fragmentary to allow of the text being restored with certainty. I was of opinion that this over-cautious method was not the right one. It was better, even at the price of numerous errors, to place the scientific world in possession of M. Stein's discoveries in their entirety. In short, the most important thing was that scholars should have access to all the materials which I myself had at my disposal, and that they should be able, by new efforts, to improve upon the results which I have obtained. I have realized, better than any one, the risks which I have run in undertaking the task entrusted to me by M. Stein. So it is by no means in a presumptuous spirit that I have performed it; I have only done what I could, and I shall be thankful for all the corrections which may be proposed by the erudite scholars who are anxious to collaborate in developing our knowledge of Sinology.

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INTRODUCTION.

The Chinese documents studied in this volume can be divided into different groups.

The first series (Nos. 1-709), which is by far the most important, comes from several localities, the most easterly of which is to the North of TUN-HUANG, 敦煌, about 94° 30′ longitude, while the most westerly is situated about 93° 10′ longitude, slightly north of 40° latitude[1]; the wooden slips, of which this series is essentially composed, date back to the *Han* dynasty, and are distributed over a period between the beginning of the first century B.C. and the middle of the second century A.D. Such among them as contain an exact date can be allotted chronologically as follows :

Date	Slips	Date	Slips	Date	Slips
98	271	1	593 (?)	77	580
96	304,[2] 308 (?)	3	430[3]	87	390
95	306 (?), 309 (?)	5	400	94	537
94	305, 430 (?)	8	585	137	536
68	255	9	367	153	680 (?)
65	37, 256 (?)	12	272		
64	262 (?)	14	307		
63	9—24, 39	14-19	371, 372		
61	38, 40, 447 (?)	15	356 (?), 482		
60	42, 43, 181 (?)	17	368, 369		
59	25—35, 41, 44	20-21	592		
58	39, 45, 46, 87 (?), 158, 159, 160, 392	35	562		
		43	483		
57	36, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 91, 92, 93	46	484		
		50	563, 564		
		53	565		
56	58, 399	55	485		
53	446	56	486		
52	413, 414	61	566		
48	338 (?)	67	535[4]		
45	339 (?)	68	579		
39	428, 429	75	613, 614		

1. Cf. A. STEIN, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, Vol. II, pp. 50-65 and pp. 92-156.
2. In line 15 of p. 71, for 29 Dec. 95 B.C., read 30 Dec. 96 B.C.
3. In the last line of p. 96, for 4 A.D., read 3 A.D.
4. In line 15 of p. 116, for 21st Jan. 65 A.D., read 21st Jan. 67 A.D.

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It is to be noticed that, among the documents of this series there are a few writings on paper. The majority are Buddhist writings of the time of the *T'ang* dynasty (Nos. 710-720), and have been put together accidentally, side by side with slips of the *HAN* period. But three of them, Nos. 706-708, appear almost certainly to date back to the second century A.D., and are thus the most ancient specimens of paper that exist.[1]

The second series (Nos. 721-950), comprises writings on wood and paper of the *CHIN* period. With the exception of a few wooden slips (Nos. 940-950), which come from Niya[2] where M. Stein had previously found many belonging to the latter half of the third century A.D.,[3] all the other documents composing this series were discovered by M. Stein to the North of the marshes, now dry, that were at one time part of the Lopnor.[4] The locality from which they come lies slightly west of 90° longitude, by 40° 31′ latitude, and it had already been visited in 1901 by Sven Hedin. It is probable that it occupies the position of the ancient kingdom of *Lou-lan*[5] 樓蘭. The writings brought back by Sven Hedin have not up to the present time been published. They have only been the subject of a small article by K. Himly, allowing us to attribute them to the years between 264 and 270 A.D.[6] In 1909 a young Japanese explorer, Mr. Tachibana, halted at the same place, and was able to make a few addi-

1. Two of these fragments are reproduced in iacsimile on pl. XX, Nos. 707 and 708. Another fragment dating probably from the first half of the second century A.D. has been studied with a microscope by J. v. WIESNER, who has published the results of his researches in an article entitled " *Ueber die ältesten bis jetzt aufgefundenen Hadernpapiere (Sitzungsberichte der Akademie des Wissenschaften in Wien,*" phil. hist. Klasse 168, Band 5, Abhandlung 1911.)

2. Cf. " *RUINS of DESERT CATHAY,*" Vol. I, pp. 272-299.

3. Cf. " *ANCIENT KHOTAN,* " Vol. I, pp. 537-542.

4. Cf. " *RUINS of DESERT CATHAY,*" Vol. I, pp. 376-412.

5. Chinese authors usually identify *Lou lan* 樓蘭 and *Shan-shan* 鄯善, but this identification is only politically correct and must not be accepted in a geographical sense. It is a fact that in B.C. 77 the kingdom which had up to that time had its administrative centre at *Lou-lan*, moved the seat of its government to *Shan-shan* (Charklik), south-west of the Lop-nor ; but even if the kingdom of *Lou-lan* thus became the kingdom of *Shan-shan*, the site *Lou-lan* survived, and this is the place which we frequently find mentioned in the documents of the third century A.D., dug up north of the ancient lake by Sven Hedin and M. Stein. Cf. Albert Hermann, " *Die alten Seidenstrassen zwischen China und Syrien,*" pp. 101-104.

6. Cf. Karl Himly, " *Sven Hedins Ausgrabungen am alten Lop-nor* " (Petermanns Mitt., Vol. XLVIII, 1902, pp. 288-290).

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tional discoveries : we owe to him, in particular, a rough copy of a letter written on paper, which can be assigned to about the year 324 A.D.[1]

M. Stein's documents on wood furnish us with the following dates :—

263 A.D.	No. 738	268 A.D.	Nos. 725, 728
264 A.D.	,, 721 (?)	269 A.D.	,, 726, 727 (?), 741
265 A.D.	,, 722, 723, 730	270 A.D.	,, 729, 733, 735, 736, 748 (?)
266 A.D	,, 724, 739[2]	330 A.D.	,, 886

The documents on paper are dated A.D. 270 (No. 896) and A.D. 312 (Nos. 910 and 912).

The third series of documents (No. 951-991) is made up of the writings on wood and on paper of the *T'ang* period, which come, some (Nos. 951-974) from Mazar-tagh[3] on the left bank of the Khotan River,[4] and the others from Mazartoghrak (Nos. 974-980) and Balawaste (Nos. 981-983), two districts which lie respectively north and south of the oasis of Domoko, east of Khotan.[5] To these must be added a few Buddhist fragments which were found, some south of Luckchun,[5] others at Toyuk,[6] north-east of Kara-kho-ja.

Of these various groups of documents, that which dates from the *Han* period, is by reason of the remote date to which it belongs, at once the most important and the richest in information of all kinds, and by reference to this new historical source we may try to reconstitute the life of the Chinese garrisons in the distant posts of Central Asia during the centuries which immediately preceded and followed the birth of Christ.

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1. See in *Tōyō gakuhō* 東洋學報, t. I, fasc. 2, M. Haneda's article, where there is a description of the documents brought back from central Asia by the Otani mission of which M. Tachibana was a member. The letter of *Li Po*, chang-shih of the Western Regions in A.D. 324, is reproduced in facsimile and in a transcription on p. 54 of this article. Cf. the notes by M. Péri on this subject in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 1910, p. 642 and 1911, p. 465.

2. In line 18 of p. 160, for " vingt-deuxième jour du deuxième mois " (1st March, A.D. 265), read "vingt-deuxième (jour) du douzième mois" (18th February, A.D. 266).

3. Cf. " *RUINS of DESERT CATHAY*," Vol. II, pp. 417-419.

4. Cf. "*RUINS of DESERT CATHAY*," Vol. I, pp. 255-256.

5. Cf. " *RUINS of DESERT CATHAY*," Vol. II, pp. 357-358.

6. Cf. " *RUINS of DESERT CATHAY*," Vol. II, p. 359.

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I

The portion of the ancient great Wall along which M. Stein made his memorable discoveries does not belong to the defensive system organized by *Ch'in Shih Huang-ti* 秦始皇帝. In the year B.C. 214,[1] *Ch'in Shih Huang-ti*, who had then been emperor seven years, decided to join together the various walls of defence which the feudal rulers of the North had built on the northern frontier to protect themselves against the invasions of the *Hsiung-nu* 匈奴.[2] Thus was conceived the gigantic undertaking of the great Wall. This great Wall of *Ch'in Shih Huang-ti*, the line of which we can follow on a Chinese map of the year 1137,[3] started from *Lin-t'ao* 臨洮, in the West, and ended at *Shan-hai-kuan* 山海關, in the East.[4] *Lin-t'ao* is to-day the second prefecture of *MIN* 岷, and is situated in south *Kan-su* near the bend of the river *T'ao* 洮, a tributary on the right bank of the *Huang-ho*.

The great Wall of *Ch'in Shih Huang-ti* was a defensive work; the additions made to it from the western end about a century later were built for the purpose of offensive policy. In B.C. 126, *Chang Ch'ien* 張騫 had returned from the long and perilous embassy which, originally intended to cement relations with the *Yüeh-chih* 月支, settled as it was supposed in the Ili Valley, actually succeeded in reaching the banks of the Oxus, and revealed to China not only the economic situation of the principalities in eastern Turkestan, but also the commercial importance of the great Western civilizations. From that time onwards the Emperor *WU* resolved to open the road to the West by cutting a passage at the exact point where the Turkish hordes and Tibetan tribes met, and where in consequence there was least cohesion between the various nomads who surrounded China. This result was obtained when, in B.C. 121, at the conclusion of general *Ho Ch'ü-*

1. This date is indicated in *Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien* (Ch. VI, French translation. II, p. 168).

2. On the walls of the feudal kingdoms, before the time of *Ch'in Shih Huang-ti*, see *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, 1903, p. 221, No. 4.

3. Cf. B.E.F.E.O., 1903, p. 214 et seq., Map A.

4. Cf. *Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien*, chap. LXXXVIII, p. 1 r°, "*MUNG T'IEN* built the great Wall. Profiting by the configuration of the ground and making use of natural obstacles he constructed a barrier which began at *Lin-t'ao* and ended at *Liao-tung*."—*Ch'ien Han shu*, chap. XCVI, a.p. 1 v°: "*Ch'in Shih Huang ti* drove back the Barbarians and built the great Wall to mark the boundary of the Central Empire; but in the West he did not go further than *Lin-t'ao*."

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ping's 霍去病 glorious campaigns, the districts of *Kan-chou* and *Liang-chou* were annexed to the Empire. This was immediately followed by the establishment of the Command of *Chiu-ch'üan* 酒泉, the *t'ai shou* 太守 or governor of which lived in the locality now called *SU-CHOU* 肅州.

Later colonists were sent to these new territories, which grew in importance and gradually split into three new Commands, that of *Wu-wei* 武威, now *Liang-chou* 涼州, that of *Chang-yi* 張掖, now called *Kan-chou* 甘州, and that of *Tun-huang* 敦煌, which name has survived to this very day.[1] At the same time, to ensure freedom of passage the governor had a rampart built, which started from *Ling-chü* 令居 and ran in a westerly direction.[2] *Ling-chü* must have been in the neighbourhood of the present sub-prefecture of *P'ing-fan* 平番, west of the prefecture of *Lan-chou fu* 蘭州 in the province of *Kan-su*. This point marked the first limit to the expansion of the Chinese military

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1. In the year B.C. 121, immediately following the mention of the murder of the *Hsiu-ch'u* 休屠 king and the surrender of the *Hun-hsieh* 昆邪 king, the principal Annals of the Emperor *Wu* (*Ch'ien Han shu*, chap. VI, p. 6 v°), add: "From their territory were made the Commands of *Wu-wei* 武威 (Liang-chou) and *Chiu ch-üan* 酒泉 (Su-chou)." In the same chapter (p. 9 v°), in the year B.C. 111 we read that, after a campaign conducted by the Chinese generals in the desert of Gobi, "the Commands of *Wu-wei* and *Chiu-ch'üan* were subdivided and those of *Chang-yi* 張掖 (*Kan-chou*) and *Tun-huang* 敦煌 were established." As has been noticed by the critical annotators of the period of *Ch'ien lung* (at the end of chap. XXVIII, b. of the *Ch'ien Han shu*), it does not appear that we have any grounds for attaching importance to the information given in the geographical section of *Ch'ien Han shu* (chap. XXVIII, b. p. 2 r°—v°), according to which the Commands of *Chang-yi* and *Chiu-ch'üan* would only have been established in B.C. 104, the Command of *Wu-wei* in B.C. 101, and that of *Tun-huang* in B.C. 88. According to the *Tzŭ chih t'ung chien* (chap. XX, p. 4 v°), of *Ssŭ-ma Kuang*, which gives us the most probable evidence, the first step taken was the establishment in B.C. 115 of the Command of *Chiu-ch'üan*; from this was detached later the Command of *Wu-wei*. The same work (chap. XXI, p. 9 v°) assigns to the year B.C. 111 the establishment of the Commands of *Chang-yi* and *Tun-huang*. This shows that the Command of *Chiu-ch'üan* was that from which the three others must have sprung: it must have directed the pushing of colonists into Central Asia and this, in fact, is the part which we see it playing in slip No. 60.

2. *Ch'ien Han shu*, chap. XCVI, a, p. 1 v°: 始築令居以西.

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colonisation towards the West.[1] By extending the rampart westwards protection was afforded to the road which ran through central Asia. Its ultimate aim was the safeguarding of the caravans which established commercial relations between the Empire and the tribes of Turkestan. This is the reason why the extreme point of this new portion of the great Wall was called the Pass of the Gate of Jade, *Yü-mên-kuan* 玉門關; for it was jade which constituted the most precious ware carried to China across the sands of Central Asia. It was in B.C. 108 that a continuous line of posts and small forts was established from *Chiu-ch'üan* (*Su-chou*) right up to the Gate of Jade.[2]

Where was this famous Gate of Jade? According to the slips found at the point T. XIV it appears probable that from the year B.C. 94 (cf. No. 305) the gate stood on the site so marked slightly west of 94° longitude. An inscription, however, would tend to prove that a few years earlier the great Wall did not stretch so far west. We know actually that in B.C. 103 when *Li Kuang-li* 李廣利 returned with the remnants of his army from his first and fruitless expedition against the country of *Ta-yüan*, 大宛, the Emperor, enraged at this set-back, forbade him to re-enter by the Gate of Jade, threatening the death-penalty to any soldier who should attempt to pass through it. *Li Kuang-li* halted therefore at *Tun-huang* 敦煌.[3] This evidence would lead us to infer that in B.C. 103 the Gate of Jade, and consequently the extreme point of the great Wall, was still east of *Tun-huang*.

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1. *Ch'ien Han shu*, chap. XCVI a, p. 9 r°: "In 119 B.C. the *HAN* moved north of the river, and from the *Sho-fang* in the east to *Ling-chü* in the west they dug a large number of irrigation canals, appointing officials to look after the fields, with a force of officers and soldiers numbering fifty or sixty thousand." 漢度河自朔方以西至令居往往遮鄣列亭障至玉門矣. 徙民屯田實邊稍五六萬人.

2. Cf. *Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien*, chap CXXIII, p. 6 r° 於是酒泉列亭障至玉門矣; cf. *Ch'ien Han shu*, chap. LXI, p. 3 r° and *Tzŭ chih t'ung chien* for the year B.C. 101.

3. Cf. *Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien*, chap. CXXIII, p. 7 r°: 天子聞之大怒而使使遮玉門曰軍有敢入者輒斬之貳師恐因留敦煌

"The Son of Heaven learning (the disaster of *Li Kuang-li*) was much angered, and accordingly sent envoys to bar the Gate of Jade, declaring that any member of the army who should dare pass through (the gate) would be immediately beheaded. The general of Êrh-shih (*Li Kuang-li*) was afraid, and that was why he remained at *Tun-huang*."

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It was after the second expedition of *Li Kuang-li* against *Ta-yüan* in B.C. 102 and 101 that the great Wall seems to have been carried forward. At this time relations with the West were being developed. In order to guarantee the free passage of the envoys and the caravans, and to assure their supplies, military posts were established at intervals from *Tun-huang* as far as the salt marshes, i.e., as far as Lop Nor.[1] The researches made on the spot by M. Stein have shown that two sections of the great Wall must have been built at that time. The first of these formed a line of defence across the shotts or salt lagoons which lie to the west of longitude 94°, and the strongest point of resistance wasat T. XIV, which about B.C. 94 must have been the Gate of Jade. The second section extended further towards the west as far as longitude 93° 30′ and ended at the site T. IV, where the Gate of Jade may possibly have stood about B.C. 39 (cf. No. 428). Leavi the site T. IV, the road ran south-west as far as Lop Nor, but the Wall from that point was not continuous. The Chinese were content to establish small forts at intervals, in order to safeguard the halting places for the caravans. The Romans adopted the same system when, for example, they extended their influence in Tripoli beyond the *limes*, establishing, as they pushed their way into the interior, a number of covering posts which ensured the safety of their communications.[2]

Among these Chinese fortresses, isolated in the middle of the desert, one of the most important appears to have been that which occupied poin T. VI, somewhere about longitude 93°. 15′. A very large number of slips have been dug up there by M. Stein, and they are spread over a period between the years B.C. 65 and 56. This period actually corresponds with a great increase in the military power of the *Han*. In B.C. 77 the Chinese general *Fu Chieh-tzŭ* 傅介子 killed the king of *Lou-lan* 樓蘭 and re-established his kingdom under the name of *Shan-shan* 鄯善. Thanks to this success the Chinese became masters of the Southern road[3] and in B.C. 60 the capitulation of a prince of the *Hsiung-nu* delivered to them the North road[4] as well. It was then, in

1. cf. *Tzŭ chih t'ung chien*, for the year 101 B.C. : 於是自敦煌西至鹽澤往往起亭 ; cf. the same evidence in *Ssŭ-ma Chien*, chap. CXXIII, p. 8 v°, and in *Ch'ien Han shu*, chap. XCVI, a, p. 1 v°.

2. Cf. R. Cagnat, " *La Frontière militaire de la Tripolitaine, Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions* ", t. XXXIX, p. 28.

3. Cf. " *Commentaire du Chouei king*," in T'oung pao, 1905, p. 567.

4. Cf. "*T'oung pao*, " 1907, p. 154, n. 1.

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B.C. 60 for the first time, that a Protector General, 都護, charged with the supervision of both Northern and Southern regions, was appointed in Eastern Turkestan. The first officer to hold this post, *Chêng Chi* 鄭吉, had his residence at *Wu-lei* 烏壘 near Hami. From this moment the power of China began to develop rapidly, and in consequence the documents in M. Stein's collection belonging to this period are more numerous.

Another period at which Chinese policy was very active is that of the usurper *Wang Mang* 王莽. We have slips dated respectively A.D. 8 (No. 585; *Wang Mang* was already all-powerful at that time), A.D. 9 (No. 367), A.D. 12 (No. 272), A.D. 14 (No. 307,) 15 A.D. (No. 482), A.D. 17 (Nos. 368 and 369), A.D. 20 and 21 (No. 592). These texts tend to contradict the evidence of the historians. According to *Pan Ku* it would appear that *Wang Mang* provoked a rupture between the *Hsiung-nu* and China in the year A.D. 9 by clumsily altering the shape and lettering of the seal which had been conferred on the *shan-yü* or chief of the *Hsiung-nu*, and that from this time onwards the Western countries seceded.[1] In reality *Wang Mang* appears to have maintained the prestige of the Chinese arms in the West until the end of his reign, and it was during the disturbed period at the rise of the second *Han* dynasty that the power of China suffered a momentary eclipse.

With regard to the eastern *Han* dynasty, our slips give us dates which are spread out over the whole of a century, from the year A.D. 35 to A.D. 137. They mark the period during which the eastern *Han* pursued an energetic policy in their relations with the West, and about that time also were established the commercial dealings to which Marinus of Tyre and Ptolemy bear witness.

II

These documents which date from B.C. 98 to A.D. 137 have a considerable historical importance. First, they are the most ancient Chinese manuscripts known to-day. The bamboo slips of *Chu shu chi nien* 竹書紀年, which must have dated back to the year B.C. 300 and were dug up in A.D. 281, have now definitely disappeared[2]; while the few wooden slips of the *Han* era, which were discovered in *Shan-hsi* during the period *hsüan-ho* (A.D. 1119-1125), have not come down to us, and we possess only

1. Cf. "*T'oung pao*," 1907, p. 155, n. 2.

2. Cf. Appendix I in vol. V of my translation of "*Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien*."

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a poor copy of one of them.[1] It is, therefore, to M. Stein that we owe the discovery of the sole *Han* writings which we have in their original form.

From a paleographical point of view the information which can be drawn from them is most important. We can study in them the writing which in China is commonly called *chang-ts'ao* 章草 because it is the method used by the author of the famous vocabulary *Chi chiu chang* 急就章.[2] Hitherto our knowledge of this writing has been confined to copies of copies, which were very far from the original, but thanks to M. Stein numerous authentic specimens have now been discovered.

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1. This slip can be interpreted with the help of a notice by *Chang Chü* 張璚, dated A.D. 1170, which was reproduced, about the middle of the fourteenth century in the "*Ku k'o ch'ung ch'ao*" 古刻叢鈔 of *T'ao Tsung-yi* 陶宗儀 (pp. 2, v,° 3, v° of the edition of *Hsio ku chai chin shih ts'ung shu* 學古齋金石叢書.) It contains a military order relative to a campaign against the tribes of Tibet 羌 which runs as follows: 永初二年六月丁未朔廿日丙寅得車騎將軍莫府文書上郡屬國都尉二千石守丞廷掾縣令三水十月丁未到府受印授發夫討畔羌急急如律令馬卅匹騾二百頭日給.

As far as this text, which appears very incorrect, can be translated, it would mean: "In the second year *yung-ch'u* (B.C. 108), in the sixth month, the first day of which was *ting-wei*, on the twentieth day, which was called *ping-yin*, a letter was received from the secretariat (莫=幕) attached to the general commanding the chariots and horsemen; (it runs:), "*San-shui*," who is sub-prefect of *T'ing-yi* and who is under the orders of the military commandant of the kingdom subject to the Command" (chün) of *Shang*, holding the title of *shou-ch'êng*, with a salary of two thousand "*shih*," is directed to appear before the secretariat in the tenth month, on the day *ting-wei*; he will there receive a seal and a badge of office empowering him to undertake a campaign for the punishment of the rebellious *Ch'iang* (Tibetans). These orders are to be executed forthwith. Each day he will be provided with forty horses and two hundred asses."

It will be noticed, first of all, that the chronological information in this text is incorrect: the sixth month of the second year *yung-ch'u* begins with the 32nd day of the cycle, and not with the day *ting-wei*, which is the 44th day of the cycle; moreover the day *ting-wei*, the 44th in the cycle, cannot be placed in the tenth month, which begins with the 60th day of the cycle. For the information regarding the days to be exact, it would be necessary to understand that the date of the year is incorrect, and in place of "the second year *yung ch'u*" (A.D. 108), we should have to read "the first year *yen-p'ing*" (A.D. 106). Secondly it would seem necessary to read "*T'ing-yi* who is sub-prefect of *San-shui*," instead of "*San-shui* who is sub-prefect of *T'ing-yi*." In point of fact *T'ing-yi* is not the name of a sub-prefecture, whereas the sub-prefecture of *San-shui* lay in the time of the *Han* north of the present secondary prefecture of *Ku-yüan* 固原, which is under the orders of the prefecture of *P'ing-liang* 平凉 in the province of *Kan-su*.—Finally, the formula 急急如律令 never appears in this context in M. Stein's slips, and one wonders whether the reading of the archæologists of the twelfth century was not influenced by the remembrance of formulæ which often figure on Taoist charms intended to maintain the ascendancy over evil spirits. (Cf. further on slip No. 137, in this connection).

2. On "Chi Chiu chang," see p. 1 *et seq.*

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It is not only in connection with the paleography of the *Han* period that M. Stein's slips are important; they give us information also on the material used for writing at the beginning of the Christian era. Certainly M. Stein's first expedition had already discovered, at Niya, wooden slips dating from the beginning of the fourth century A.D., and our views on the general nature and appearance of the official documents in ancient China had become from that time onwards far clearer than before. But the excavations made in the second expedition furnish us with accurate knowledge of several new points. In the first place we find here, besides documents dealing with various matters, the remains of actual books, and we see how, by the notches cut in the edges, it was possible to put together these wooden plates so as to form a series ; we do not, however, understand exactly how the correct order of the slips was assured, for there are no numbers on them to take the place of paging, and we cannot discover how it was possible to restore the right order when some accidental cause had upset it.[1] In the second place, besides the flat slips written generally on one side only, which constitute the great majority of our documents, we find prismatic slips, most often triangular, inscribed sometimes on all three faces, sometimes only on their two front faces.[2] These prismatic slips, which are called [illegible], are found for the first time in connection with this date. There is also a third fact which seems to me to have its interest. Hitherto it has been supposed that slips belonging to Chinese antiquity were always written on bamboo, and it appeared as though the use of ordinary wood was confined to Eastern Turkestan. But among the slips dug up by M. Stein there is at least one, No. 206, which apparently comes from the capital of the Western Han, *Hsi-an fu* 西安府; at any rate it contains the usual phrase: "The decree of the Emperor is: Approved." Now this formula can only emanate from the imperial Chancellor's office. It is, therefore, possible that the records made in the office of the imperial Chancellor at the time of the Western *Han* were inscribed on wood and not on bamboo. Lastly it is noticeable that a good mary of these can only have been obtained by means of a paint-brush, and we must therefore no longer admit the use of wooden pens for the purpose of writing these characters. If wooden pens were actually in use they must have been used for other writings than Chinese.

1. (On this question, see now Sir Aurel STEIN "*Notes on ancient Chinese documents*," in "*The New China Review*," 1921, Vol. III, p. 243-253.—P. PELLIOT.)

2. Cf. Nos. 1, 2, 137, 263, 316, 428, 451, 467, 564, 697.

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III

I shall now endeavour to show what information may be gathered from the writings upon these slips. In point of fact, we find ourselves faced with documents which form archives, and the majority of them consist of official documents concerning the daily life of small garrisons stationed in the most distant outposts of the Empire.

The troops in the garrisons, 戍卒 as they were called[1], are often mentioned in the history of China. Thus the "*Ch'ien Han shu*" (chap. XCIV, b, p. 3 v°) speaks of garrison troops which guard the boundary 備塞戍卒; in another place (chap. XCIV, p. 4 r°) we are shown the risks which would have been run in removing the garrisons or in decreasing the number of those who kept watch.[2]

Some of our slips describe most exactly the origin of the soldiers sent into these posts in the Far West. They tell us to which station 里 a man belonged, in which subprefecture 縣 this district lay, and under which command 郡 this subprefecture fell. We are told, for instance, that in the locality which I have called T. VI, about B.C. 58, there were five soldiers who came from the country South-West of *Shan-hsi* 山西, near the *Huang-ho* (Nos. 72-75-77); another came from *Ssu-ch'uan* 四川 (No. 43), one from *Ho-nan* 河南 (No. 183), and another from *Tun-huang* itself, and this last had, therefore, been recruited on the spot (No. 62). Thus the majority of men stationed at the site T. VI about the middle of the first century A.D. were natives of South-West *Shan-hsi*. In the other posts we find three soldiers who were natives of the districts of *K'ai fêng-fu* 開封 or *Ho-nan fu* 河南, in *Ho-nan* (Nos. 416,434,456), two men from the South-West of *Shan-hsi* (No. 550), and nine from the Commands of the Far West (Nos. 342, 392, 417, 574, 579, 580,592). The information which we possess allows us to state definitely that the garrison troops of the West were composed of men drawn from *Shan-hsi* and *Ho-nan* and of men collected on the spot, in almost equal numbers.

It is probable that the men that came from outside the station were hard-labour convicts. This seems to be the evidence which

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1. Cf. Nos. 72, 77, 392, 434, 456, 550, 551.

2. The expression 候望 is explained by the passage in the "Biography of *Hsüan-tsang*," where mention is made of the five watch-towers which the pilgrim had to reach successively after leaving the Chinese frontier; the biographer adds: 候望者居之 "the persons charged with keeping the look-out live there," (cf. Julien, "*Vie de Hiouen-thsang*," p. 19).

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we can draw from slip No. 263, where we find an expression applied to eight men which is the judicial term to denote deportees.

These soldiers were distributed throughout the *t'ing* 亭 or stations, and the unit garrisoned in a *t'ing* was called a *tui* 隊.[1] We might be tempted to translate this word " battalion," but this would be incorrect, for the *tui* is very far from being the numerical equivalent of a battalion, it would be much nearer to what we call a company commanded by a captain. The *tui* must have actually consisted of a unit of about a hundred and fifty men,[2] though it is probable that in the most distant posts the numbers were even smaller, for the difficulty of supplies had to be considered.

Each company had its own particular name. Several boasted of triumphs over the barbarians, and there was therefore the *Ling-hu* 淩胡 company " which oppresses the *Hu*,"[3] the *Yen-hu* 厭胡 company " which beats back the *Hu*,"[4] the *P'o-hu* 破胡 company " which crushes the *Hu*,"[6] and the *T'un-hu* 吞胡 company " which swallows the *Hu*."[7] Others claimed that their calling was to enlarge the power of the Emperor. Such were the *Kuang-ch'ang* 廣昌 company " which increases prosperity,"[8] the *Yang-wei* 揚威 company " which raises prestige,"[9] the *Hsien-wei* 顯威 company " which manifests prestige,"[10] the *An-han* 安漢 company " which ensures peace for the *Han*,"[11]

1. Cf. Nos. 432 and 552, where the meaning of the expressions appear to be capable of similar extension in each case. Only one *tui* had to reside in one *t'ing*, and one *t'ing* alone was large enough to hold a complete *tui*. —By error in Nos. 150, 173, 208, 432, 437, 493, the word *tui* has been translated " battalion."

(Professor Chavannes' text has been translated as it stands, but it requires emendation, as the Chinese character which Professor Chavannes supposed to be *tui*, " company." is as a matter of fact another form of 燧 *sui*, meaning here " fire-signal tower. "—P. Pelliot.)

2. Cf. No. 198.

3. Cf. Nos. 42, 45, 47, 48, 56, 63-70, 258.

4. Cf. Nos. 49, 63, 71, 136, 138, 139, 268.

5. Cf. No. 621.

6. Cf. No. 437.—In the time of the *Han* certain men's names were formed in exactly the same way : thus we find a *Jên P'o-hu* 任破胡 (" *Ch'ien Han shu*," chap. XVIII, p. 11 v°), a *Lu P'o-hu* 呂破胡 (ibid., chap. VII, p. 1 v°) ; the " *Chi chiu chang* " gives us the names of *Kuo P'o-hu* 郭破胡 and *Ch'iao Mieh-hu*. 焦滅胡.

7. Cf. Nos. 617-619.

8. Cf. No. 63.

9. Cf. Nos. 568, 572, 614, 620.

10. Cf. No. 569.

11. Cf. Nos. 563, 564.

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and at the time of *Wang-Mang*, who had given to his dynasty the name of *Hsin*, *the Kuang-Hsin* 廣新 company "which makes mightier (the dynasty) of *Hsin*.[1]" Lastly other companies appear to have been named after the place which they occupied. Thus the *Mei-Shui* 美水[2] company and the *Tang-ku* 當谷[3] company may have taken their names respectively from the localities called *Mei-shui* and *Tang-ku*. The military stations received orders which issued probably from the Governor of the Command (*chun*). These orders had to be circulated in such a way that all the men might become acquainted with them[4] and they had to be posted up in a prominent position in each *t'ing*.[5]

In close proximity to the Chinese garrisons there were the native tribes, and it was not always easy to maintain accord between these two elements.[6] It was at any rate necessary for the Chinese to keep in constant touch with the native authorities 土吏, and this fact explains the frequent references in our slips to the local officials.[7]

As regards the Chinese officers, those who are mentioned most often are the captains 隊長[8] commanding the companies, and next the *hou-chang* 候長[9] who must have been in charge of the watch-towers, and the *hou-shih* 候史[10] who were perhaps the subordinates of the *hou chang*. Mention is also made of the *tu-wei* 都尉, or military commandants. This title appears to have belonged in particular to the officer in charge of the famous Gate of Jade (Yŭ mên kuan).[11]

The garrison troops consisted of both infantry and cavalry. Slips Nos. 279-283 and 286 expressly mention the cavalry and in several cases we are told whether a soldier travelled on foot (No. 145) or on horseback (Nos. 614, 662).

1. Cf. Nos. 596, 598, 599, 600.
2. Cf. No. 435..
3. Cf. No. 401.
4. Cf. Nos. 166, 258, 313, 536.
5. Cf. Nos. 63 (side B), 273, 432.
6. Cf. No. 433.
7. Cf. Nos. 49, 51, 138, 139, 143-145, 150, 375, 552, 681.
8. Cf. Nos. 42, 43, 45, 54, 56, 136, 157, 271, 377, 436, 463, 482, 484, 490, 562, 563, 564, 565, 568, 572, 596, 600, 604, 681.
9. Cf. Nos. 55, 58, 66, 80, 83, 168, 169, 314, 377, 390, 439, 471, 483. 487, 492, 536, 552, 553, 571, 592, 613, 617, 662.
10. Cf. Nos. 62, 66, 81, 190, 262, 405, 459, 460, 542, 552, 553,
11. Cf. Nos. 136, 137, 428, 451, 483 (?)

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In addition to the men in the posts, there were apparently watch-dogs, which were officially recognized as belonging to the garrison and having the right to be fed. (No. 487).

IV

The first duty of the troops garrisoned in the advanced posts of the West was to mount guard, and in case of emergency to give the alarm by lighting a beacon. As soon as the nearest station saw the signal it repeated it, and by means of this form of optical telegraphy the news was transmitted from point to point, warning one by one all the little garrisons, which at once rushed to arms.[1] In one of our slips[2] an officer accuses himself of being to blame for not properly superintending the fire signals, and in another[3] orders are given to a small garrison to refrain from lighting beacons in the future, because it is too far from the nearest post for its signals to be seen. Lastly, several slips[4] show that the exact time at which a fire-signal appeared was carefully noted in writing.

The use of fire-signals was not invented by the *Han*; it existed long before their time. The following anecdote is told in the biography of *Wu-chi* 無忌, a lord of *Hsin-ling* 信陵君 who died in B.C. 243:—*Wu-chi* was in the middle of a game of draughts with the king of *Wei* 魏 when the news came from the North frontier, by fire-signals, that hostile bands from the district of *Chao* had appeared and threatened to invade the country.[5] The king of *Wei* abandoned his game at once and wished to take immediate measures to drive back the invaders, but *Wu-chi* calmed him by saying that the king of *Chao* was out hunting, and that it was a mistake to imagine that his intentions were hostile.

Different words were used according to the material of which the beacons were made. They were called *fêng* 烽, if used by day to produce a cloud of smoke, and *sui* 燧, if by night to penetrate the darkness with a bright flame.[6] *Ssŭ-ma Hsiang-ju* 司馬相如, who died in B.C. 117, wrote in one of his literary compositions:

1. Cf. No. 432.
2. Cf. No. 567. In No. 438 we again find the expression 督烽.
3. Cf. No. 552.
4. Cf. Nos. 84, 85, 86, 87.
5. "*Shih chi*," chap. LXXVII, p. 1. r°: 北境傳舉烽言趙寇至且入界
6. One of our slips (No. 552), makes a clear distinction between the smoke-signals used by day and the flame-signals for use by night. We know that the same system was used under the Roman Empire: cf. Vegetius book III, chap. 5: "Si divisae sint copiae, per noctem flammis, per diem fumo, significant sociis, quod aliter non potest nuntiari."

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"When the soldiers in the frontier commands learned that the day or night beacons had been lit, every man seized his bow, put his horse to a gallop, girded on his arms and started off."[1]

The general *Ma Ch'êng* 馬成, who from A.D. 38 to 43 devoted his efforts to organizing the defence of the Northern frontier, built (along various lines, details of which history has handed down to us) "fortifications and organized fire-signals for use by both day and night. At every tenth *li* there was a watch-tower."[2]

The precise sense of the two words *fêng* and *sui* is not always retained; and indeed the word *fêng* is used to designate the fire-signal whichever it may be.

The watch-towers on which the beacons were lit are called sometimes *hou* 候 as in the text quoted in note 3, sometimes *fêng-hou* 烽候 as in note 4, and sometimes simply *fêng* 烽. In the "*Life of Hsüan-Tsang*" we are told that the pilgrim, after making his way through the Pass of the Gate of Jade, had to journey by five watch-towers 烽 in succession, each occupied by sentries and each a hundred *li* distant from the next.[3] This is evidently the sense of the word 烽 in our slip No. 61, which gives us the list of the five watch-towers in the *I-ho* area.

When watch was well kept, it enabled the inroads of the enemy to be effectively frustrated; moreover the *Ch'ien Han shu* tells us that at a certain time the *Hsiung-nu* gained very little success because "at this time the fire-signals and the vigilance were most efficient in the commands along the Han frontier."[4] On the other hand, at another time "the officers and lieutenants in the fortresses and watch-towers ordered their soldiers to hunt wild beasts so as to make a profit on the skins and flesh of these animals; thus the troops were worn out with fatigue and the fire-signals were neglected."[5]

If the word 烽 designates the beacon or, by extension of its meaning, the tower at the summit of which the beacon was erected, the word 炬 was used to designate specially the flame which burst out when the beacon was lit. *T'ang liu tien*, "The six regulations

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1. "*Shih chi*," chap. CXVII, p. 11 r°: 夫邊郡之士聞烽舉燧燔皆攝弓而馳荷兵而走.

2. *Hou Han shu*, chap. III, p. 4 r° 皆築保壁起烽燧十里一候.

3. "*Life of Hsüan-tsang*" (*Trip.* of Tokyo, XXXII, 2, p. 2 v°) 關外西北又有五烽候望者居之各相去百里

4. "*Ch'ien Han shu*," chap. XCIV, a, p. 13 r°: 是時漢邊郡燔火候望精明.

5. "*Ch'ien Han shu*," chap. XCVI, b, p. 5 v°: 障候長吏使卒獵獸以皮肉爲利卒苦而燔火乏失.

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of the *T'ang*," a work which is shown by its title to date from the seventh, eight, or ninth century A.D. [1] gives us this information in a passage quoted in "*P'ei wên yun fu*" (under the word 烽): "The watch-towers were equidistant and at intervals of thirty *li*. When fire-signals were lit, the watchers made either one fire, or two in succession, or three, or four, according as the invaders were more, or less numerous."[2]

As the dictionary "*Shuo wên*" shows, the word 炬 was written 苣 at an earlier date, and it is in the latter form that it is reproduced in our slips where frequent record is made of the appearance of a fire signal.[3]

One slip[4] makes it quite clear that the stake round which the beacon was built was thirty feet high, and this must have therefore been the height of the beacon itself.

Soldiers were sent out on fatigue to collect fire-wood for building and feeding the beacons, and as it was sometimes necessary to go a considerable distance this fatigue might well last as long as ten days.[5]

Whatever may have been the effectiveness of fire-signals, they proved insufficient in the event of fog, heavy rain, or snow. It was then necessary to fall back on swift messengers, who galloped continuously, finding a new horse at a relay-post every ten *li*. A short poem by *Wang Wei* 王維 (A.D. 699-759) recalls this picture.[6]

"Every ten *li* a new horse starts.
Every five *li* there is a stroke of the whip.[7]
A message from the Protector-General (*tu-hu*)[8] has arrived,

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1. (The "*T'ang liu tien*" was written in the second quarter of the VIIIth century. The passage quoted here is in the 5th chapter of the original work. —P. PELLIOT.)

2. 唐六典曰凡烽侯大率相去三十里其放烽有一炬二炬三炬四大炬以賊多少而爲差焉.

3. Cf. Nos. 84-87.

4. Cf. No. 694.

5. Cf. Nos. 555, 609 (?).

6. 十里一走馬五里一揚鞭都護軍書至匈奴圍酒泉關山正飛雪烽火斷無煙
(See "*Ch'üan T'ang shih*," lithographic ed., chap. V., p. I V°.)

7. Because, after galloping five *li*, the horse begins to show signs of weariness; it is necessary therefore to urge it on with the whip so that it continues at full speed. The horse is changed every ten *li*.

8. For the title "Protector-General," which was instituted in B.C. 60, cf. p. VII, lines 14-18.

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Telling how the *Hsiung-nu* were besieging *Chiu-ch'üan*;[1]
But at that very time snow-flakes were falling on the mountain where stand the openings (of the wall),
And the signals of fire could raise no smoke."

The men who were charged with the lighting of the fire-signals were responsible for keeping watch over the frontier. The act of exercising this vigilance is expressed by the words 候望.[2] When watch was kept in the area guarded by the great Wall, a soldier was said to "mount the Wall." The celebrated scholar *Ts'ai Yung* 蔡邕 was banished in A.D. 178, or shortly afterwards, to the neighbourhood of what is now *Shên-shui hsien* 神水 in Northern *Shan-hsi*; from there he addressed a request to the Emperor asking him to accept his historical work entitled "*Hou Han chi*" 後漢記. It opens with these words: "When I arrived at the place of my banishment, I mounted the Wall to take charge of the fire-signals; my duty was to keep watch."[3] Our slips often give us the expression 候望.[4]

(*To be continued.*)

1. The Command of *Chiu-ch'üan* had its administrative headquarters in the town which is to-day *Su-chou fu* (*Kan-su* province).

2. Cf. p. IX, note 3.

3. Commentary on "*Hou Han shu*" (chap. XC, b. p. 8. v°): 臣既到徙所乘塞守烽職在候望

In "*Ch'ien Han shu*" (chap. XCIV, b. p. 4 r°) the commentator *Yen Shih-ku* says: "The expression *Ch'êng sai* signifies that a sentry mounts the wall and keeps watch." 乘塞登之而守也

4. Cf. Nos. 60, 189, 265, 432, 495, 623.

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THE PHILOSOPHER SUN-TSZ

BY

PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER

(*Continued from page 19*)

Sün-tsz's eleventh chapter treats of the best way to strengthen a State. Just as the best instruments need occasional grinding and polishing, so the punitory laws must be kept tempered and true by the application of proper formalities and a sense of justice 禮義; and here we see the impressiveness of high principle 道德 over harsh measures of inquisition; then we shall find that men will obey without the stimulus of punishments and work hard without the stimulus of reward. The reverse takes place when harsh measures are applied, for insolence follows the slackening of compulsion whilst flight or migration is the result of force. Sün-tsz, accordingly, proceeds to quote appropriate historical instances from the ambitious struggles between North China 齊 and the semi-barbarous South China 楚 during the 5th century B.C. He then says "How shall I define *tao*?" He replies "It is deferential politeness and loyal good faith" 禮讓忠信. He never ceases to harp on his favourite subject, *i.e.*, the collapse of the first and second hereditary dynasties owing to the vices of their respective last Emperors, and the virtues of the founders of the second and third dynasties: to try and remedy such obstinate incapacity would be like lying on your back to lick the sky, or pulling the legs of a wretch who should attempt suicide by hanging himself. The commentators point out that certain curious words used by Sün-tsz in these similes had already been used by Kwan-tsz, an indication that the works of the latter philosopher were probably extant in some form or other in both the above-mentioned States. Life and tranquillity (he goes on to say) are the universal aim amongst men, and the *li-i* just mentioned are indispensable to attain them; otherwise you might as well cut your throat as a means to secure old age; hence rulers, to attain peace and glory,

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must love their people and be kind to their officers, failing which they may consider themselves as lost: as the Ode says: "the ordinary individual is the protecting fence; the prominent statesman is the protecting wall": the policy of force employed by Ts'in is in painful contrast with the policy of *i* or justice. An ancient commentator alluding to these words in the main texts, points out that they had been the main substance of a conversation between Sün-tsz and Li Sz, the statesman who was ultimately responsible for the First Emperor's remodelling of China; and this is not impossible, for we have seen that the First Emperor's great-grandfather had conversations with Sün-tsz, and that his grandfather's and father's reigns only lasted two years between them. Sün-tsz's main text goes on to say that although Ts'in in its career of conquest was more powerful than the founders of the second and third hereditary dynasties and more extensive than the domain of the first dynasty, yet it was always in dread of a hostile combination of northern and southern vassal States, under the leadership of the semi-Chinese South China 楚, anxious to establish its legitimacy, and to average previous defeats and humiliations: the vassal States of the ancient Emperors, it is argued, never extended more than 1,000 *li* (300 miles) beyond their ruling centres, but Ts'in (Shen Si) extends northward to the Tartar tribes 胡貉, westwards to modern Szch'wan and Kansuh 巴戎, southwards towards (modern) Hankow, and eastwards towards (modern) Shansi, Shantung, etc. Mention is also made of the Western Sea, but this vague term cannot well carry us farther west than Kokonor, Lobnor, or at the utmost the Harashar region. Better (Sün-tsz argues) for Ts'in would it be to increase her good faith than to go on increasing her territory.

The Marquess of Ying [1] inquired of Sün-tsz what he thought of Ts'in, to which the reply was that from a physical point of view everything was in its favour; moreover the inhabitants were simple, and modest in their dress; the officials were good; the Court orderly and business-like; hence there had been (apparently since the B.C. 343 recognition) four successive generations of rulers; easy but effective, without timidity; but there was a lack of high education 備: without this in its purity there can be no empire; by cunning, a protectorship is possible; but without one or the other the State must perish: that is Ts'in's weak point. An Emperor must be careful of the course of time; a Protector must be observant of opportunity: there is danger in letting things

1. 范. This was Fan Tsŭ (Mayers' Manual, No. 129) and the date about B.C. 270.

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slide, but there is ruin in neglecting things altogether. An Ode is cited in proof. *I* 義 means the limiting and preventing of wrong : inferiors should not be given a bad example, as they may be compared with the echoes and shadows of their superiors ; it may also be defined as " moderation "; it is the basis or stem, and next in importance comes *Sin* 信, or good faith : these two qualities were as manifest in the founders of the first and second hereditary dynasties as they were absent in the last rulers or wreckers of the same houses. If you keep your homestead swept, the weeds will not grow ; with a knife at your throat you do not dodge the stray arrow, nor do you worry about damage to your fingers when you are pulling out a spear-head. The sum total is *li* and *i* in all things first.

Heaven had no initial preference for the virtuous Emperor Yao, nor initial detestation of the detestable Emperor Kieh ; in each case their own acts were responsible for their respective fates. Heaven will never suffer industry and thrift to starve ; nor will the provident and active be stricken with disease ; nor again will evil be suffered to overtake those who cultivate *tao* ; such need have no dread of hunger, thirst, cold, heat, or pest. On the other hand, Heaven will not enrich idle wastrels : therefore do not blame or question the action of Heaven ; avail yourself of it without scrutiny, and utilize Nature without trying to fathom it : that at least is what the highest class of man 聖人 does. Odes are cited in support of the above, and further changes are rung upon the contrast between the superior man 君子 and the mean one 小人. By all means wonder at, but do not dread the freaks of Nature, which have really nothing to do with rulers' virtues and vices. Prayers for rain, ceremonies at eclipses, consulting the oracles, and so on, are mere formalities. The philosopher Shên-tsz laid stress on the future and not on the past ; the philosopher Lao-tsz laid stress on the crooked and not the straight ; the philosopher Mêh-tsz laid stress on equality and not on individual interests ; the philosopher Sung-tsz laid stress on few desires and not on many. As the Book of History says : Not by favouritism or hate can you pursue the royal road.[1]

The twelfth chapter opens with emphasis upon the force of example on the part of superiors, and reverts to the conditions prevailing in Old China Proper 諸夏 : the last wicked Emperors of the first and second hereditary dynasties did not abandon

1. These two remarks upon 愼到, 老聃, 墨翟, and 宋鈃 will become clearer as we advance our philosophical reading : it becomes quite clear, now, however, that the third, Mêh-tsz, was a Communist, and that his doctrine of 兼愛 is not correctly translated by " Universal Love."

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the Empire 天下, it was the Empire that got rid of them; and they deserved it, as an everlasting warning, being "unfit even to govern their own harems.[1] Only the biggest type of man is fit to take an Empire, though a lesser may manage to get hold of a State 國. Here follow some rather obscure remarks upon ancient punishments, mutilations, and "suggestions" of mutilations, and it is stated that the Founder of the Third Dynasty after slaying the last monarch of the Second, hoisted his head upon a red flag. It is stated, however, that the South China regions 楚越 were not yet (say B.C. 1100) part of the Empire, and that all China Proper 諸夏之國 wore similar clothes and practised similar rites 同儀. Then follows a criticism of the word "abdicate" 擅讓 as applied to the handing over of the earliest Empire by Yao to his successor Shun, and by Shun to his successor Yü; it is explained that the Emperor alone is perfect, and can have no equal, such as the word "abdicate" connotes; therefore we must denounce the expression as a vulgar, ignorant error.

The best archer cannot hit the mark with an untrue bow, nor can the finest charioteer win a race with decrepit horses. Before Yao's time there were no mounds raised above graves, and since then in matters generally ancient simplicity has been gradually corrupted. At the same time, our author indulges in a sneer at the "cheap burials" recommended by his special bugbear Mêh-tsz, and has some remarks about Sung-tsz's doctrine of turning the cheek to the smiter. He points out further on, however, that Sung-tsz's doctrine is an impossible one, and that there must always be a contrast between undue splendour and undue meanness, if only because Nature has endowed us with the five senses to gratify or repress. On the whole this twelfth chapter is unsatisfying, and is, therefore, only very sketchily treated here.

The thirteenth chapter defines *li* 禮 as being an indirect product of the desires born in us, which, if not moderated, would lead to utter confusion: hence the grand monarchs of old tried to satisfy natural desires upon a fair basis, in fact reconciling the measure of desires with the capacity of their object: thus food for the mouth, beauty for the eye, music for the ear, comfort for the body, fragrance for the smell,—these are all gratified by *li* "the gratifier"; but the superior man 君子 apportions them according to age, wealth, and rank, and therefore grace with order 文理

1. The T'ang dynasty commentator explains that this refers to what Lieh-tsz said about a criticism passed upon the egoist philosopher Yang-tsz by one of the Kings of Liang (in Mencius' time).

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must regulate the gratification of the passions : thus a man who gives himself up to *li-i* " gets there " in best senses, whilst the man who gives himself up to the passions 情性 fails in both directions. The [so-called Confucianists or] properly educated 儒者 are those who succeed whilst the [Communists or] followers of Mêh-tsz 墨者 are those who fail. *Li* rests upon three begetters or main supports 三本 : Heaven and Earth [Nature] the begetter of life generally ; our ancestors, the begetters of our kind ; prince and teacher, the begetters of order 治. The highest class of man 聖人 may be termed the acme of *tao*, whilst *li* ushers life in and adorns the end of existence. And so on to the end of the chapter, the rest of which is rather a wearisome re-hash of funeral formalities. Heaven can create beings, but cannot discriminate between them, whilst Earth can give lodgment to man, but cannot secure man's orderly conduct ; in all such matters the services of the [born genius or] highest class of man 聖人 are required, and the inevitable Ode [in itself unintelligible] is cited to reinforce the meaning, rendered more than usually obscure by the frequency in the text of " unknown " and doubtful characters. To cosset the living at the expense of the dead is the *Mêh-tsz* notion, but to starve the living for the luxury of the dead is equally a mistake. Yet, it is observed that those beasts of prey or big migratory birds which have lost their mates and their companions will flutter over or hang about the place when they chance to pass that way again, uttering croaks and roars to mark their sad recognition ; even small birds of the sparrow and swallow class will halt to twitter ;[1] and this they do though ignorant of understanding : hence it comes that the period of man's mourning is spread over three years, finishing after 25 lunations, for man could not with decency fail where even birds and beasts show their feelings. Hence also the ancient Kings and wise men 故先王聖人 thought it only consistent with decency and order 以成文理 to lay down

1. In the neighbourhood of Spring-grove, Kingston, there dwells an owl, whose sorrows are the talk of the district.

But a little time ago he had a mate, an equally handsome bird—for each was over a foot in height.

This charming lady owl, however, met with a tragic death : One night she collided with a chimney and next morning was found dead.

Sympathizing householders laid the dead bird on the lawn so that her mate might learn her fate. When she was buried in the evening the forlorn male was a pathetic mourner from an adjoining tree.

Since that time the surviving owl has visited the scene of the accident almost every night.

Perched on the chimney of the house, its melancholy hoot can be heard for hours, and sympathetic women declare that it is breaking its heart for the loss of its mate. Whenever seen now the sorrowing bird is always alone.

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the mourning rules 立中制節. The ruling prince 君者 is the master of regularity and discrimination, in fact the source of order[1] 文理源. The term "the people's father and mother" is often applied to him. A father can beget but not suckle; a mother can feed but not educate. The prince "feeds" with emolument, and "educates" by his commands and decisions. The idea of [ancestral] worship 祭 is the expression of affectionate remembrance.

The fourteenth chapter treats of music, which may be defined as the expression of joy, one and the same ideograph being in fact used for both ideas [the context indicating to the reader the difference of sound and tone]. The musical art comes down from our ancient kings; yet Mêh-tsz disapproves of it; but why? Its periods broaden the emotions, and its modulations lend them dignity. Mêh-tsz's attitude towards this ancient expression of *tao* is like the blind man's appreciation of black and white, the deaf man's appreciation of sonant and surd; it is like going north in search of 楚 South China. Why this attitude? He says that our ancient kings disapproved of it and that the Confucianist school 儒者 have cultivated it to excess. A sentence from Confucius approving of village musical jollifications is here quoted, but without mention of Confucius. The further development of the subject may be of literary interest, but adds little to the few words as above summarised. Chapter 15 opens with the statement that there are no two *tao* in nature, and no two minds in the philosopher 聖人: true, in the present [B.C. 300] degenerate times we have conflicting methods of government, and endless schools. [In connection with this subject of fighting states, the T'ang dynasty commentator cites the *Lun-hêng* 論衡, a first century A.D. philosophical work of 200,000 words translated over a decade ago by the late Professor Alfred Forke, the reading of which may be recommended to those who are not in a position to refer to the original Chinese philosophers criticised therein].

Our author goes on to illustrate how the successful methods of Kwan-tsz and his associates contrasted with the tyrannical ways of other contemporaneous Chinese states. As for Mêh-tsz, he stigmatises his communistic notions and lack of refinement. On the other hand, the philosophy of Sung-tsz (already mentioned a few pages back) laid stress on the moderation of our natural desires and the advisability of letting them run their course. Shên-

1. This frequent noting of the term 文理 is intended to support the contention of the learned editor in his *Encyclopædia Sinica* that the modern translation or signification of "mandarin style" or "literary style" is not justified by historical precedent.

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tsz 愼子 was all in favour of prohibitory punishments;[1] he argued that you might have or dispense with numerous sages, but you could not do without or multiply your respective rulers. On the other hand Shên Puh-hai 申不害 or 申子 is quite "gone on" tyranny without method, though otherwise much like the above Shên-tsz. The philosopher Hwei-tsz 惠子 was an adept at special pleas interminable: his admirer Chwang-tsz had a weakness for fate or the supernatural 天, and did not sufficiently consider the influence of human action upon affairs. All the above are mere "corners," or one-sided and distorted views of the same *tao*; but Confucius was benevolent and shrewd, entirely without prejudice in any of the above directions, so that his learning was as multifarious as his art or craft, and 術 was quite able to hold its own with that of our ancient kings 先王. When you know what *tao* is in your heart, then you are capable of *tao*, and when you are thus capable you can abide by *tao* and eschew what is not *tao*. The heart is lord both of body and consciousness; it commands them, and they do not command it. It is not for field-labourers, traders, and artisans to teach us what *tao* is; it is the superior man 君子 who makes *tao* his speciality, and, like the ancient Emperor Shun, works his *tao* through the instrumentality of susceptible intermediaries. Man's heart may be compared with a quiescent pail of water; all is clear above, and what sediment there is lies at the bottom; you can see all your own features reflected clearly in it. Now comes a gust of wind; the water moves and the sediment rises, so that you cannot discern even the main lines of your reflected figure in it: thus the heart must be kept pure and undisturbed by external things so as not to obscure its vision.[2] Passions are like mosquito buzzings, they unsettle one's peace. The philosopher Mencius sent his wife about her business because she distracted his better thoughts. One of Confucius' pupils used to burn his hand so as to keep from nodding[3] whilst studying *tao*. A drunken man mistakes a big ditch for a wee gutter, or stoops when he emerges from the city gates; that is because his mind is fuddled. A man looking down from a height instinctively allows for the real size of animals and trees. The

1. The still quite modern term 刑名 seems to be connected with Confucius' celebrated rule that you must 正其名, and the word 名 is apparently equal to our word "heading;" *i.e.*, you must decide under what *heading* you seek to convict.

2. The whole of this chapter, a mere outline of which is here given, is worthy of the attention of future students, and there are not so many "borrowed" and "unknown" ideographs to confuse them.

3. The texts are rather corrupt and the commentators somewhat vague about the exact meaning of this.

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prospect reflected trembles when the sheet of water is disturbed, yet no one is deceived. The fact that a blind man looking upwards does not see the stars does not indicate that the pupil of his eye is being befooled: it can never be right to attempt the solution of a doubtful point by a proposition which is itself doubtful [the commentator says this is a "whack" at Shên-tsz and Mêh-tsz]. Ghost stories and roast-pig sacrifices when ill belong to this category of self-deception. The term "holy" 聖 implies perfect co-ordination, and the term "royal" 王 implies perfect administration of it.

The sixteenth chapter is upon "right definitions" 正名 which, we have seen, was insisted on by Confucius. Sün-tsz says that we have no record of those of the Shang dynasty laws which took the rank or status of the individual as a guide; whilst the succeeding Chou dynasty certainly took *li* or propriety as a guiding principle, for them first it was that China had distant strangers to deal with [as the Romans, when they established a *praetor peregrinus* to modify for foreigners the narrow Twelve Tables]: man's disposition or nature 性 is born with him, but the feelings or quiescent passions of that nature 情 are a matter of environment. Then follows a dialectical discussion [which leads us nowhere in particular) about the administrative terminology 制名 of the ancient kings, and about the adaptation of this by later rulers to later conditions 因其成名而名之; the present writer does not profess to understand it, but casually alludes to it here in order to show what Confucius had in his mind when he made his celebrated remark. Sün-tsz goes on to criticise Sung-tsz's turning the cheek to the smiter," and the remark attributed to an uncertain philosopher (possibly Chwang-tsz) that "the highest type of man does not slay a *man* out of love for his own person; what he slays is *robbing* or a *robber*": he gives this as an instance of juggling with names 亂名 to the extent of confusing terminology altogether[1] 惑名. (It is necessary to interlard a few ideographs here for clearness' sake). Alas! we live (3rd century B.C.) in degenerate times; the sacred Kings

1. The commentator charges the Hwei-tsz 惠施 and Kung-sun Lung 公孫龍 schools with having confused and changed names. The latter personage was one of Confucius' pupils, 53 years younger than the Sage (see Watters' *Tablets*, p. 52), manifestly not the same Taoist person of that name as Mayers' Manual No. 288. The philosopher Wên-tsz 文子 says there are three classes 科 of names, e.g., square, round, white, black, which are description of matter; good, bad, noble, base, which are qualificatory; wise, stupid, love, hate, which are stigmatising. This feeble attempt at definition leaves us where we were: with, as Sün-tsz would say, "a doubtful solution of a doubtful fact."

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聖王 are no more; the world 天下 is in confusion; dishonest words are in vogue; there are no longer men of honour 君子; power rules; punitory law is ineffectual, all is specious argument (the inevitable. Ode is cited in support). The wise words of the honourable have given place to the vague noisy chattering of the ignorant.

He now returns to human nature the gift of Heaven and feelings or quiescent passions (as above translated) which are the body or product 質 thereof, whilst active passions, or desires 欲, are the responsiveness thereof 應; even a doorkeeper must have desire, whilst on the other hand even the Supreme Ruler 天子 cannot gratify all possible desire, though he may come near it. Though desire cannot be got rid of, yet it may well be regularised or modified. *Tao* for this purpose may be compared with a balance; it shows the precise point where good and evil meet just as the scale shows exactly where heavy and light meet. Thus if your mind is at ease you can enjoy everything: no need for magnificence, and not even empire can add anything to your joys: if you know *tao*, you have calm, you measure your desires and hates and give due weight to yourself and enjoyment of life. But beware of twaddle! [As the commentators add, herein Sün-tsz clearly follows Confucius and Mencius, and develops the famous saying of the former 必也正名].

The seventeenth chapter is devoted entirely to the celebrated controversy between Sün-tsz and Mencius as to whether man's inborn disposition is good or bad. This chapter is entirely different in style and vigour from the rest of Sün-tsz's work, and appears to have been "penned" (or painted) under stress of violent emotion. Probably his conversations with King Chao, or Chao-siang, of Ts'in had by this time proved quite ineffectual, and Ts'in had deliberately decided upon a policy of violence. Neither Confucius nor Mencius, or in fact any philosopher in the centuries before Christ, at any time composed so logical or well-threshed-out an argument.

As has been stated, the seventeenth chapter treating of the celebrated Mencius controversy, has been dealt with separately, as forming a masterpiece by itself; but there is some confusion about the arrangement of subject, 篇, and whilst the masterpiece is called the 23rd subject, the end of the 17th chapter also covers a short 24th subject called "the high-class man" 君子; but, as the commentator points out, there must be some mistake or misnomer, for the real subject is the Son of Heaven; and, even at that, it is hardly worth translating for anything at all original it may contain.

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Chapter 18 is also unsatisfactory, a mere jumble of unfinished anecdotes, comparisons, etc. Chinese philosophy is so vast in quantity, that it is hardly worth while troubling to worry out the meaning of the doubtful and scattered ideas; suffice it for the present generation of enquirers to get at the main points evolved by early Chinese thought.

The nineteenth chapter appears to consist of a number of miscellanies by Sün-tsz's pupils; as, for instance, the deportment of the Son of Heaven as contrasted with the vassal kings, and the much worn examples of Yạo, Shun, and Yü: in connection with the last Emperor, it is mentioned that he got ideas from a western state 西國王, and the commentator raises the question "Was he a Tibetan 西羌 himself?" Then there is a story of Confucius comparing the respective merits of Kwan-tsz and his [modern Shantung province] successor 150 years later, the philosopher Yen-tsz, with the equally distinguished lawyer-statesman [modern Honan province] Tsz-ch'an; also some remarks upon the political doings of Mencius: the interest of these observations lies in the fact that all prominent men of the leading states [now northern province] were familiar with the general history of the time, which, so far from being vague, was firmly established in educated men's minds. In this connection it may be well to call attention to Père Tschepe's masterly translations of the little known native histories of Ts'in, Tsin, Ts'u and Wu which give full particulars of the events only tersely summarised in Sz-ma Ts'ien's great history so ably translated by the late Professor Edouard Chavannes. As Sün-tsz observes: "Heaven did not create the people for the benefit of their ruling princes, but set up ruling princes for the benefit of their peoples." It is the ideal duty of the ruling prince to discover the proper agents, and it is the ideal duty of his subjects to carry out the behests for which they are chosen. The high-class man's learning is for ever being cast and renewed, like the shed skin of a snake. As for charity, sense of right, and courtesy 仁義禮, they are what may be called the desirable things for humanity, just as material possessions and the different grains for food are the desirable things for a household: they are rich who possess them in quantity, just as they are poor who are lacking in them: the great, who are unable, just as the ordinary folk, who are unwilling, to practise these qualities are on the road to lose their estate, be it public or personal. As the saying goes 語曰 "the stray pellet finds the hole, the stray word finds the understanding head"; but this is a prejudiced saying 家言 against the educationalists or Con-

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fucianists 儒 者.[1] When there is doubt, take counsel from bygone events, and compare them with present circumstances, weighing the *pros* and *cons* without prejudice; then the "stray word" will disappear, and the evil word will perish. [Confucius' pupil] Tsêng-tsz having more fish on his plate than he could consume, someone said "cook it again for the servants"; but it was suggested that, cooked again, it might do them harm; better warm the fish up: Tsêng-tsz shed tears at his own want of consideration. Other incidents are cited where Confucius, virtuous statesmen and even ancient Emperors are ignored, by those who ought to appreciate them, in spite of their virtues. The moral appears to be this: the superior man can act nobly, but not necessarily compel people to appreciate the nobility of his action; he can be of service in many ways, but not necessarily induce people to avail themselves of his services. Solemn exhortations and interstate treaties, hostages, etc., do not appear to have existed at all in remote antiquity [not much use now]. On the whole Chapter 19 is somewhat disjointed and inconsequent, scarcely repaying close perusal except for purposes of intensive study.

Chapter 20 seems to be a general summing up by Sün-tsz and his pupils of the lessons to be gathered from history as it then existed, *i.e.*, before literary "style" existed. Various acts of Confucius are criticised or justified in such a way as to make it clear how the secular views of the *literati* 儒 道 gradually came to mean "Confucianism," from the mere fact that Confucius was the first to sum up and give definite expression to the rites and ceremonies, the charity, courtesy and right feeling which from ancient times had stood in China for what we in the west call religion. The ideas of prayer, sin, confession, repentance, "love" of God, etc., were never conceived at all in a popular distributive sense; and so far as they were conceived at all it was only for the Emperors in their semi-divine representative capacity as Heaven's trustees for the people: as the temporal power of the Emperors dwindled, so the old "rules of the educated" 儒 道 had to be modified or given new expression in order to fit in with ever-changing political conditions; and herein lies the secret of the conflicting "philosophies," all of which the First Emperor (with his *Deutschland über Alles* ideas, so to speak) tried to "tumble into a hole" and destroy for ever together with feudalism. It will be remembered that this First Emperor only came to the throne ten or twelve years after the death of his great-

1. The commentator explains that this is a fling at the Sung-tsz and Mêh-tsz class 家 of philosopher.

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grandfather whom Sün-tsz had actually tried to convert to "reason." His grandfather and putative fathers never reigned effectively at all. Chapter 20 ends with a sort of colophon as follows :

Some people say that Sun[1] K'ing is not equal to Confucius. This is not so. Sun K'ing was driven to what he did by the welter of the times, when fierce penalties threatened every independent act. There were no worthy Emperors about to save the situation, and there stood tyrannical Ts'in in the way below. Courtesy and justice had no vogue, and true civilization 教化 had no chance ; the benevolent had their hands tied, and the whole world 天下 was in a muddle ; one had to grope his own way, and the vassal rulers were all topsy-turvy. In these days the most knowing were at a loss what to do, the ablest at a loss to restore order, and the wisest at a loss how to begin : the ruling princes were unable to see clearly for themselves, and the sagest of counsellors were flouted in any case. Things being so, Sun K'ing, though moved by a sort of inspiration, put on a crazy demeanour to show the Empire 天下 how foolish he was. As the Ode[2] has it [of another ancient] : " he showed intelligence and wisdom in preserving his own person," a most apt quotation in this case ; and this is why his reputation has never been done justice to ; his followers have never been numerous, his brilliancy never widely appreciated. But the erudite of the present day, in possession of the words and last lessons bequeathed to them by Sun K'ing will find them sufficient to serve for the world's model and standard 天下法式表儀 ; the spirit of them is preserved, though the circumstances are bygone. If we look at his good work, well, Confucius could not have done better ; but succeeding ages, undiscriminating, ask how is it if he was a man of the highest order 聖人 the Empire 天下 was in confusion ? The answer is, Sun K'ing was unfortunate in his time : his virtues were as high as those of Yao and Yü, but few of his time were aware of it. He had no use for specialists 方術, and thus incurred men's distrust ; but his knowledge was extremely clear, and his actions strictly upright in accordance with principle, in such wise that he might well count as a guiding model. But, alas ! for the wise 賢 by rights they should be monarchs 帝王 but nature as we find it 天地 does not know what is virtuous 善. [The wicked last Emperors of the first two hereditary dynasties] Chou and Kieh murdered [the one] the good

1. It is to be noted that this colophon uses *Sun* 孫 instead of *Sün* 荀.

2. Another Ode was 哲人之愚 which a commentator explains by 賢人佯愚, thus showing a regular practice in China.

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sage [Kwan-lung-fêng], whilst [by the other] Pi-kan's heart was cut out. Confucius was held up at K'wang [later on in Ts'u state he came across]; Tsieh-yü [feigning madness as a means of] retiring from the world. Ki-tsz feigned madness [colleague of the above Pi-kan, B.C. 1154, in order to escape the mad Emperor's brutality]. T'ien Ch'ang revolted (B.C. 481, and created a new dynasty in modern Shantung]. Hohlü, presuming on his might, got good fortune in exchange for his wickedness whilst the more worthy suffered disaster [alluding to the celebrated Chinese Hannibal, a semi-savage king in the Shanghai-Soochow region, and his conquests B.C. 500]. In these days people who discuss the matter once more fail to discern the real truth and simply accept his current repute ; but times and generations are dissimilar, so that encomium can scarcely have its due birth : as he cannot now render contemporary public service, how can he once more assert his mind ? But as to his true virtue and honesty, who shall say he was not one of the wisest ?

The T'ang dynasty ninth century commentator remarks : "from the words 'in these days' to the end the words are those of Sün-tsz's pupils ;" from which we (the translator) must infer that the whole of Chapter 20 is the teaching of Sün-tsz himself as manipulated or recorded for him by his school during his life-time. The translated parts in square brackets towards the end do not appear in the Chinese text, but that does not mean that they *need* insertion, *as* translations, for any but the foreigner. There is nothing unduly *staccato* or obscure about the literary allusions to the past, which every well-educated Chinese, even under the present very unliterary Republic, understands as a matter of course. It is as though, in discussing a British man of eminence, we were to say: "Yet we must bear in mind Capua, and not forget Rufus or the royal Tarquin brutalities : Richard may have been wicked, but Henry VII was no saint."

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ANCIENT RELIGIONS OF CHINA

BY

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(*Continued from page 297*)

The Religions of the Chow Dynasty.

Before we begin to deal with these, we will say a few words about the chief god of the Chou Dynasty : the red god, without bringing forward any proofs.

He is the war-god, fire- and sun-god. His chief symbol is the sunbird, which has but one leg[1]. It arrives in the spring and leaves again in the autumn. The sun-god bears the names 來 *lai* and 離 *li*, on account of the bird's arrival (來 to come) and departure (離 to leave). We often find the two characters 𠂤 and 𡍮 on the oracle bones[2]. They are interpreted as 來 *lai* (to come) and 喜 *hsi* (joy). They signify the war-god and his wife, who are consulted before a military expedition is undertaken[3]. The name 離 is still found among the 8 diagrams, as the diagram of the sun. The name 來 is still used in 老萊子[4]. In the *Shuo-wên* we find a designation of the same god in the character 𠂆 不, not, which according to Wieger I, p. 299, represents a bird that rises flapping its wings straight towards the sky. Among the twelve animal symbols (12 *shu* 屬), the snake (蛇), which originally

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1. In the Eastern Han Dynasty the sunbird is given three legs, as the red god is No. 3 in this dynasty, while he has the first place in the Chou Dynasty.

2. See Mr. Lo-chên-yü's book : 殷虛書契菁華.

3. See Mr. Lo-chên-yü's book : 殷虛書契考釋.

4. Lao-lai-tzŭ is mentioned among the 24 examples of filial obedience. This is none other than the sun-god, the red god, who has been transformed into an example of filial piety.

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belonged to the son in the white religion, was stolen by the red god. He has also taken the Holy Mother's symbol, the sheep (羊) and the father's symbol, the horse (馬); as a matter of fact he had only the ape (猴) as his own symbol. The official religion of the Chou Dynasty was a sort of absolute religion, i.e., a religion in which one single god assumes the power as "the great man" (or the great master 大夫). He has a unique position, as he unites heaven, earth and man in one person. This was no doubt caused by religious development during the Chou Dynasty. The emperor (properly the king) wished to be an absolute ruler, and, therefore, he shaped a religion in which a single god was well-nigh absolute. The saying of Confucius cited by Mencius: "There are not two suns in the sky, nor two sovereigns over the people," has perhaps something to do with this. The experiment was not successful, and the dynasty eventually had three religions, two besides the official one. These two religions both retain the red god, but place at his side the blue and the white god also. According to the 6th part of the Chou-li, one of these religions is designated *wên* (文) with the colours blue and red, the other *chang* (章) with the colours red and white. We will, for the sake of convenience, name these religions and gods according to colours.

1. The Official Religion of the Chou Dynasty

(The Red Religion.)

The generally accepted Chinese chronology of the oldest times differs by several hundred years from the Taoistic chronology as given in the Bamboo Books. The difference decreases by and by, and from B.C. 841 the two chronologies coincide. From this fact alone the great importance of the year B.C. 841 can be conceived. In this year the ruler, King Li (厲), was deposed, the people revolted and the king had to flee. Before a new king was raised to the throne fourteen years passed, a period called Kung-ho (共和). According to Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien there were two dukes who reigned conjointly, wherefore the period was called Kung-ho. But Chwang-tzŭ and the Bamboo Books inform us that there was only one regent, an earl of the family (共)[1] with the name of Ho (和), i.e., peace. There are probably religious ideas behind this difference. This is confirmed by reading what the book Lu-shih (路史) tells about this matter, to which it gives a whole chapter. Here it is said to be linguistically incorrect for Ssŭ-

1. This word is written with the same character as the one used for the name of the principal god of the Ch'in Dynasty.

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ma-ch'ien to explain Kung-ho as "peace through the joint reign of two dukes." It is not two dukes but one earl who reigns. His government is very much praised. The earl is full of virtue and good works, so the people have the blessing of perfect peace. All the dukes of the country wished to make him emperor, but he was not willing. After the fourteen years have passed, a great drought comes upon the land, and as the reed-thatched hut of the earl is burnt down, he returns to his religious exercises, and from this time lives on the summit of the mountain Kung, while Hsüan (宣), a son of King Li, becomes king. Everything implies that it is a god who is referred to here. It is curious that an earl should reside in a reed-thatched hut, and that the same character *lu* (廬) is used in the name of the hut, a fireplace, and the reeds with which the hut is thatched. It seems to imply that it is the fire-god who is spoken of, the god of the hearth who is now raised to become fire-god on the mountains, lightning, thunder- and rain-god, and, moreover, sun- and heaven-god. The issue of the contest between Chwang-tzŭ and Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien is then whether it is this single god, or two gods as Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien asserts, who rule the empire from B.C. 841.

After consideration of the myth just related, we are inclined to believe that the traditional history of the first three Chinese dynasties (Hsia, Shang and Chou) is mixed up with myths arrayed in the garb of ordinary history[1]. But when we contemplate what is reported as having happened in the year B.C. 785, this supposition becomes certainty, for it is reported that in the year B.C. 785[2] King Hsüan passed sentence of death on Tu-pai (杜伯), i.e., "the earl of the wild pear-tree." His friend, Tso-ju (佐儒),[3] asks nine times for pardon for him, but with no effect. So the king causes Tu-pai to be executed, and Tso-ju commits suicide, as he will not serve so unjust a ruler. Casually reading this, one would be inclined to think that it was only a report of a common occurrence at an imperial court. But elsewhere[4] we are told that "the earl of the wild pear-tree," who is also called "the lord of the wild pear-tree," is a god. The philosopher Mo-tzŭ (who lived about B.C. 400) tells of him: "King Hsüan killed the earl of the wild pear-tree and did not regard it as a sin. But when the king went hunting later, he saw in a vision that the dead man

1. The Danish historian Saxo has in the opinion of many done the same thing.

2. Faber: Chronological Handbook.

3. May perhaps be translated "Philosopher of the left party."

4. V, 94, Tu-chu 杜主

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took a bow and arrow and shot him, and that he fell down dead. Therefore he worshipped the earl." Other reports give also indications of Tu-pai being a god. It is said about him by Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien that under the Ch'in Dynasty he was only a very small god. It is also said[1] that "he taught the people to cultivate the earth." Tu-pai's dethronement is said by his votaries to have taken place in this way[2]: "As a great flood came over Hui (會),[3] Wang-ti (望帝)[4] abdicated in favour of his minister K'ai-ming (開明), i.e., he who causes the darkness to disappear and the light to come, and ascended the western mountains to live in hiding there." K'ai-ming,[5] whom we meet several times in the *Shan-hai ching* (山海經), especially in the third part, and who is sometimes depicted as a wild monster guarding the nine gates of Heaven, and sometimes as "the spirit of the tortoise," is identical with the god of the official religion of Chou, the red god.

We will now discuss this god more particularly. He has many names. We will first investigate those having some connection with the tortoise. Here we first, as already mentioned, meet with Pieh-ling (鼈靈), i.e., the spirit of the tortoise.[6] In the *Chou-li* the heavelny tortoise is called *ling* (靈), i.e., spirit. According to the book *Êrh-ya* (爾雅)[7] it is called the God-tortoise or Spirit-tortoise. The very expensive use of tortoise-shells for oracular inquiry during the Chou Dynasty is well known. Every time the empire was in distress the stalk of the plant *shih* (蓍) or the tortoise was inquired of. How the tortoise-shell was treated for this purpose we do not fully know. But that a drill and fire were used is certain. The species of tortoise used was, of course, not the same as that used as a symbol for the god himself. The first species was called *kuei* (龜), the other *yüan* (黿), This latter is written by a combination of two characters signifying "the original frog." The *yüan* is a very big tortoise that lives in rivers and lakes. It has protuberances on its head like heaps of stones.[8]

The god is also called *chwan-fu* (專夫), i.e., "the only master" (hero). Chwang-tzŭ tells us[9]: "The only master moves the ram's horn and ascends 90,000 *li*." To each of the two characters originally used for *chwan-fu* has later been added the radical for "hand" (扌), so it is now often written 摶扶, but read with this radical added the name has no meaning.

1. The persons Tu-yü (杜宇) and Tu-chu (杜主) are identical. 2. V, 94, Tu-yü (杜宇). 3. The mountain Hui, V, 60. 4. Tu-pai is also called Wang-ti, i.e., the emperor (or god) of the full moon. 5. XI, 81, K'ai-ming 開明. 6. XI, 81, K'ai-ming. 7. XI, 180, Ling-kuei (靈龜). 8. XII, 126, Yüan-ting (黿鼎). 9. IV, 140, T'uan (摶) and VIII, 111 Yang-chiao (羊角).

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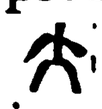
In Yüan-yüan's inscriptions on old temple-bells, sacrificial vessels, etc.,[1] we find *chwan* ( ) special, the only one, written thus: . This is, for instance, the case in an inscription on a sacrificial tripod from Silver Island, a vessel supposed to date from King Hsüan's time. On the oracle-bones *chwan* is written thus: . On the right side below is seen a hand ( ). The rest of the character is similar to that in the inscription from Silver Island, and when we consider the symbol tortoise or frog, a connection with the above-mentioned god is evident. To this must be added that in many of Yüan-yüan's inscriptions the following symbols are found: The two parts of this compound character are written as they are here, the one under the other and in the same order. I believe that the upper part signifies the god himself and that the lower one is his symbol. The first in Yüan-yüan's book is translated as "son," and the latter one as "grandson," but is this correct? On the oracle-bones we often find or , which Mr. Lo-chên-yü, who has written several books on these bones, reads as "great." Sometimes to this figure is added a square, at times two lines or only one line at its head. In these cases Mr. Lo translates it as "Heaven." The most remarkable form for this character is one with a head, with big eyes, ears and earrings, but no mouth: . In Yüan-yüan's books we find many drawings of this person in many positions, translated by "son." We see him with an arrow in his hand at the side of a wild ox, or he is carrying money on a sort of carrying-pole over his shoulder. We find him also standing with a big flag or a sword or a jug in his hand. The figure on the oracle-bones which is supposed to mean "great," we often see standing with a spear, bow or other article in his hand. All this applies, according to my opinion, to the god with whom we are dealing, regarded partly as Tortoise-god, partly as the "great hero."

But the god has other symbols. We have already quoted from Chwang-tzŭ about "the only master" moving the ram's horn. A figure often seen on the oracle-bones is probably a drawing of the horn. The character for "great":  or , designating the god himself is seen standing on a horizontal line here signifying the earth,[2] and at his side is seen a figure varying somewhat, but generally drawn thus: , and several are of the opinion that it signifies a horn. This horn is no doubt the celestial

1. 稽古齋鐘鼎彝.

2. We find in the *Shuo-wên* some instances of one horizontal line signifying the earth.

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sign of the god. At all events it was often inquired of when the oracle-bones were used in prayers for rain.[1] The character under consideration has among other meanings also that of "the light of the sun."[2] We find in it the three powers which are spoken so much of in China, heaven above, man in the middle and the earth below. Such is in fact the order in this worship, and it corresponds to the upper shell of the tortoise, which indicates heaven, the lower shell, representing the earth, while the tortoise itself stands for man (the great master), who connects heaven with the earth, as the tortoise itself forms the connection between its two shells.

Such a god-man is thus described by Chwang-tzŭ: "He needs no food. He uses the clouds as his chariot and flying dragons as his horses. He roams far away right over the four oceans (which encompass the world.) He even rides on the sun and moon. Neither life nor death changes him. Thunder and lightning do not frighten him. The greatest fire cannot kill him. The greatest flood cannot drown him."

In mentioning the tortoise-spirit it is said[3] that he has come out of a well. The character for "well" is the diagram of the god. It is formed by two parallel horizontal lines and two parallel vertical lines intersecting each other 井. In this way nine spaces are formed. In the middle the god himself sits as a tortoise or a frog. When this worship fell into contempt, the expression "to sit in a well and look at the sky" came into use, and is still used as a phrase signifying a very limited view of the world.[4] In this central position he is also god of heaven. He is *Hao-t'ien-shang-ti* (昊天上帝), i.e., the exalted heaven's god. He is thus designated in the third part of the *Chou-li* ("spring-officials"), where the official worship is described.—In the inscription from the years between B.C. 318 and 312, in which the kingdom of Ch'in curses the kingdom of Ch'u, he is called "Hwang-t'ien" (皇天), i.e., the imperial almighty heaven-shang-ti (上帝) i.e., god.

The remaining 8 spaces in the diagram according to the *Chou-li* must be given to: (1) the sun, (2) the moon, (3) the ordinary stars (星), (4) the great fire-star[5] (辰), (5) he who rules over the centre (司中), (6) he who rules destiny (司命), (7) the master who rules the wind (風師), (8) the master who rules the rain (雨師). According to the figures on the robe which the emperor of the Chou Dynasty wore on the occasion of the sacrifice to

1. See Lo-chên-yü's book: 殷商貞卜文字. 2. V, 27, *yü* 曶. 3. XII, 128, *Pieh-ling* 鼈靈. 4. II, 149, *Tso ching kuan t'ien* (坐井觀天) 5. II, 196, *Ta-huo* 大火.

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heaven, the order ··ould be[1]: the sun, the moon, the ordinary stars, the great fire-star, mountains (山), the dragon (龍), flowers, (𦰩)[2] living beings (蟲).[3] That the figures on the imperial robe must be regarded as symbols is evident, but the last four of the eight mentioned in the *Chou-li* must have been gods, or rather designations of the red god.

Besides the well diagram we meet with what are called the "nine hills" (九 丘), probably nine places of sacrifice for the official religion of the Chou Dynasty. These nine sacrificial hills were probably situated, one in the middle close to the city of Lo-yang (洛 陽), which was the capital of the empire, and the remaining eight grouped around the place, one at each of the eight principal points of the compass. They can scarcely have ranged over a much greater area than the present province of Honan. The nine hills are mentioned in the *Shan-hai-ching*,[4] but it is not possible to identify them. According to the *Tso-chwan*, the book "describing everything in the nine provinces into which old China was divided was called "The Nine Hills."[5] It is therefore to be supposed that these nine provinces have some connection with the nine sacrificial hills. We get a similar hint from the fact that the nine sacrificial tripods (九 鼎) corresponded to the nine provinces.[6] The provinces are enumerated in a different order in the different books. The *Yü-kung* (禹 貢) is said to give the order of the Hsia Dynasty, the *Êrh-ya* (爾 雅) that of the Shang Dynasty, and the *Chou-li* that of the Chou Dynasty. The first two of these must be supposed to be antedated, but although the finishing touches were not given to the *Chou-li* until the Eastern Han Dynasty, it must nevertheless be supposed that as regards the points of the compass at least it gives correct information of the nine provinces of the Chou Dynasty, and perhaps also of the nine hills. First is mentioned the province of Yang, lying in the south-east with Hui-chi as its holy mountain; then the province of

1. IX,163 *kun fu* (衮 服.)

2. Perhaps all plants are here indicated.

3. The character which I can only translate as "living being" is used as a name in common for all living beings: birds, animals, reptiles, fishes and even men, IX, 140, *ch'ung* 蟲.—Flowers and living beings are under the Eastern Han Dynasty combined into one character translated "bird," and in the same way *hsing* (星) and *ch'ên* (辰) are combined into "stars" (星 辰). This was done to make room for the two emblems, the double axe and the double bow, standing for the Ch'in and the Eastern Han Dynasties. To get room for them and yet retain the number 12 (the number for the emblems on the imperial robe) it was necessary to combine as related.

4. 16, 3.

5. I, 88, *chiu ch'iu* 九 丘.

6. I, 94, *chiu ting* 九 鼎.

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Ching, lying towards the south with the mountain Hêng as its holy mountain. These two cardinal points, south-east and south, are regarded in this religion as the principal ones. The principal sacrificial place of the Chou Dynasty was therefore in the south-east, which can also be deduced from a statement made by Yüan-yüan.[1] This place of sacrifice was called " Ming-t'ang " (明堂), i.e., bright hall. The great mountain for the assembly of the gods in this religion is therefore Hui-chi (會稽), the mountain in the south-east. The name signifying : " to assemble and respectfully fall down and knock the head against the earth" points in the same direction.

2. The Other Two Religions Under the Chou Dynasty (Wên and Chang)

While the principal of the nine hills was still situated in the south-east, there came into existence two other religious cults, for which the most important hills were in the east and west respectively. Standing in the north with the face towards the south we have east at the left and west at the right hand. From this the names Tso-ch'iu-ming 左丘明, i.e., "the left hill is bright," and Yu-ch'iu-ming 右丘明, i.e., " the right hill is bright," are formed. The expression "bright " is an abbreviation of " Ming-t'ang " (the bright hall). The meaning is that according to the view of the one cult, the principal sacrificial place (Ming-t'ang) must be situated in the east ; according to the other, in the west. Both these cults retain the principal god of the official religion (the red god), but add one more, the blue god for the eastern, and the white god for the western. In this way we get the Wên 文 (blue and red) and the Chang 章 (white and red), both mentioned in the *Chou-li*. " Wên " seems to have come into existence in the duchy of Lu (the state in which Confucius was born) in B.C. 722, and the duchy of Ch'u adopted it. " Chang " seems to have arisen in the duchy of Ch'in in the year B.C. 770, and the duchy of Chin adopted it.—It is very difficult to ascertain the position of the different states at the time of the Chou Dynasty. According to the introduction to the *Shuo-wên* there were at that time in the different states different customs, different written characters (this will hardly denote more than that they were somewhat changed in accordance with the ruling religious opinion), and even different languages (I should think this only means dialects), so it is very likely that there were also different religious opinions.

1. V. 12, Ming-t'ang 明堂.

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A. *The Red and Blue Religion (Wên).*

This is "the left hill is bright" cult, for which east is the principal quarter. This religion is especially the religion of agriculture and of day.

The commentary on Confucius' work, the *Ch'un-Ch'iu* (春秋), i.e., "the Spring and Autumn Annals," is called the *Tso-chwan*, and this work and the *Kuo-yü* (國語), i.e., State speeches, are ascribed to Tso-ch'iu-ming. Professor Hirth mentions him as "a person whom it is difficult to identify,"[1] and Professor Grube calls him "a mystical individual,"[2] and is of the opinion that the contents of the two books do not permit us to consider them as having been written by the same author. The explanation is that it is only Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien, who, because he has other religious opinions than Tso-ch'iu-ming, makes him out to be a person and thus tries to conceal that there were two cults. We must therefore hold that the two books are based on a certain form of religious opinion ruling within certain states during the time of the Chou Dynasty. We do not know the name of their authors, if the *Tso-chwan*, as Dr. Grube supposes, was not written by Confucius himself.

By looking at the so-called river-diagram Ho-t'u (河圖),[3] we get a clue to the meaning of the expression *Tso-ch'iu-ming*. In the north we find water, and the number 1 and 6; in the east, wood, and the numbers 3 and 8; in the south, fire and the numbers 2 and 7; in the west, gold (metal), and the numbers 4 and 9. Beginning in the east and going towards the south it is said: "Wood brings forth fire." This is the diagram of the sun and of peace—the productive diagram. According to the *Pai-hu-t'ung*, which is, however, not an unprejudiced witness, as its author is in favour of this cult, it is called "the heavenly system," "royal arrangement," "heavenly teaching," etc. The sun is called "prince," while the moon is regarded only as "minister."—It is not likely that the Ho-t'u, or the Lo-shu, which will be mentioned below, existed before the time of the Han Dynasties, but their principal thoughts, for instance those in connection with the numbers 1, 2, 3 and 4, probably date from the time of the Chou Dynasty. The diagram here treated of is ascribed to the ideal emperor Fu-hsi, who saw it arise from the river on a dragon-horse. Fu-hsi is one of his names after he became emperor, but

1. Hirth: The Ancient History of China, p. 179.
2. Grube: Geschichte der Chinesischen Litteratur, p. 119.
3. VI, 45, Ho-t'u 河圖.

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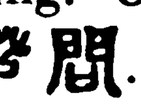
Yü-fu-wang (魚鳧王) ,i.e., Fish-wild-duck-king,[1] is no doubt one of his names and in that case an older one. The *Lu-shih* tells about Fu-hsi, besides what is generally known, that his mother Hwa-hsü (華胥) stepped in the footprints of "the great one" (巨) and felt a movement in her body, while the rainbow encircled her. After 12 years she bore Fu-hsi. On pictures from the Eastern Han Dynasty we see Fu-hsi and his *ching* (精), i.e., spirit, who is called *ts'ang* (倉). i.e., blue. The spirit is drawn as a man, like Fu-hsi. On both persons the lower part of the body is transformed into a snake's tail, and the two tails are twisted together. A little boy with legs like tails is hanging from their sleeves. According to the *Pai-hu-t'ung*,[2] Fu-hsi, as emperor of the east, also has his *shên* (神), i.e., soul, called *chü mang* (句芒) and his *ching* (精) i.e., spirit, called "the blue dragon." To *chü-mang* is added the explanation "Beings immediately after birth." Afterwards the expression *chü-mang* is explained thus, "Plants and trees just coming out of the earth." The small boy must represent *chü-mang* then, and we get an idea through this picture of how the gods were systematically arranged during the Han Dynasty. Each of the four cardinal points of the compass was provided with its special god, and each of these gods was revealed—if it may be so said—in three different manners: the emperor of the god (compared with man), the soul of the god (compared with the earth), and the spirit of the god (compared with heaven). Such a partition of the god of each of the four corners of the world into Ti (帝), Shên (神) and Ching (精) was not attained till the Han Dynasties. During the Chou Dynasty it did not exist. But which god is the original base for Fu-hsi, with his three forms of revelation? The most primitive deities, I think, must have been the three gods of the white religion: the father, the mother and the son; but I believe also the answer must be: the god Jo (若), who is the god of the ocean.[3] In Chwang-tzŭ we find the following: "To behold the ocean and sigh to Jo."[4] The general meaning of the character Jo is: if. On the oracle-bones Jo is written thus: as a kneeling figure with hands stretched upwards. As to the three winding lines forming the head, I do not know their meaning. On one of the oracle-bones we read: "Ask Jo" (問若):  . In one of the inscriptions of Yüan-yüan we find Jo written thus: , which is similar to the character on the oracle-bones, but with , mouth, added. As this god must

1. V, 94, Tu-yü 杜宇. 2. *Pai-hu-t'ung*, the section *Wu-hsing* 五行. 3. IX, 16, Jo 若. 4. IX, 16, Jo 若.

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be considered the principal god of the Eastern Han Dynasty, and the religious system of that dynasty in several ways is preserved till the present day, we may expect that the blue god also at the present time will be more prominent than either the black, the red or the yellow. We must think of four gods then, who, in spite of really being Taoistic, are chiefly worshipped by Confucianists and, in a way, may be called Confucian gods. They are: the god of literature Wên-ch'ang (文昌) and his three servants: K'uei-hsing (魁星), whom we have already identified with the black god—Chu-i (朱衣), i.e., the man in the red cloak, and Chin-chia (金甲), i.e., the man in the golden armour.[1] As the Western Han Dynasty had the colours blue and black,[2] it is natural that the black god should be the principal one after the blue. It is also quite clear that K'uei-hsing is the most important of the three servants; he is so important that Doré, judging from his importance at the present day, says that Wên-ch'ang and K'uei-hsing are identical, or at least associated as gods of literature.[3] The man with the red cloak we identify with the principal god of the Chou Dynasty: the red god, and the man with the golden armour with the principal god of the Western Han Dynasty: the yellow god.

B. *The red and white religion.*

This religion corresponds to the cult of "the right hill is bright," for which the west is the principal point of the compass. Also here we must imagine that we are standing facing south. On the right hand we have the west. The system is known by the diagram called the *Lo-shu*[4] (洛書), i.e., the book which ascended from the Lo River on the back of a tortoise when the emperor Yü stopped the flood. As is the case in the use of the *Ho-t'u* we have the element water in the north and the numbers 1 and 6, but now the user of the diagram turns to the right to the element fire and the numbers 7 and 2, then to the element gold (metal) with the numbers 9 and 4, and last to the element wood with the numbers 3 and 8. This is called "the conquering diagram": "water conquers fire, etc." It is the system of the moon and of war. It is a Yin system, while that of Tso-ch'iu-ming is a Yang system. According to the *Pai-hu-t'ung's* way of putting it, it is a "minister-arrangement," and an "earth-system." This diagram can at the very earliest be ascribed to the Ch'in Dynasty, which is evident from the fact that it begins at "water conquers fire" (i.e., the Ch'in Dynasty overcomes the Chou Dynasty), but as is

1. Doré, vol. VI, p. 39—70. 2. XII, 126 Fu 賦. 3. Doré, Vol. VI, p. 64. 4. VI, 72 Lo-shu 洛書.

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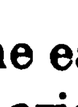
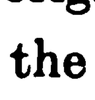
the case with the Ho-t'u it can also be taken for granted that something of it already existed in Chou times.

The god who in this religion shares the power with the red god is the white, the father. According to Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien,[1] Prince Hsiang (襄) of Ch'in in the year B.C. 770 ventured to establish a special worship, as it was especially by his valuable services the Chou Dynasty was saved from an attack by the Huns. Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien says " He regarded himself as Lord and built the western *shih* (時)—a place where sacrifices were made to the earth—for Pai-ti (白帝), the white god or emperor. He sacrificed a red horse, a yellow ox and a ram." The white god was now degraded to be only the ruler of earth, although he originally was the ruler of heaven. His number (one) is, however, retained. The most important character in this religion is 立, which means a man (大) standing on the earth (一), Wieger I, p. 26. The man signifies the red god, while the earth signifies the white god. How degrading for heaven to be trodden upon by man (the hero)! The character is found many times on the oracle-bones. On the back of the bird we see the character , which is equivalent to 立 only turned upside down.—The red god took the number 9 and his position on the diagram was in the south. At the same time it was turned about so that the south took the most important position and the north the lower. South (9) now became Heaven and North (1) the earth. The character  on the oracle-bones tries to show the original position.—On the inscriptions of Yüan-yüan we also find the character  sometimes turned upside down.

At present the diagram *ch'ien* 乾 means heaven and is placed in the south, and *k'un* 坤 means the earth and has its position in the north, but according to the *Li-chi*[2] they were named in the order *k'un* and *ch'ien* in the Yin Dynasty. Therefore *k'un* must have been the most honourable at that time.

Mythological Pictures.

There are many mythological pictures still left from the Han Dynasties, especially the Wu-liang stone-sculptures in the province of Shantung.

The Ho-huan (合歡) tree, i.e., the joyful-meeting tree, is found on several of the pictures. At the side of the tree a horse and a crane are to be seen. We also find another tree, of which it is said that it shoots a new leaf every day. In one picture we see the god of the ocean[3] riding in his chariot drawn by fishes. The

1. Fêng-shan-shu, p. 2. 2. II, 129, k'un 坤. 3. Compare the blue god.

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soldiers following him are riding on fishes. We also see frogs carrying spears. On another big picture we see the cloud-god[1] and a female figure, both with headdresses somewhat similar to our modern gentlemen's silk hats. Many horses and carriages follow them. Everyone in this picture has wings. Another picture shows the god of thunder and rain.[2] The god is seen driving in a chariot drawn by six boys. The god has a hammer in each hand. In front of him walk two women pouring water from a jar. This must represent rain. Further in advance we see a man with hammer and wedge. He is shown twice. Once he is standing on the back of a kneeling man and is trying to drive the wedge into his neck. A big serpent with heads at both ends forms an arch over the whole group. Over the serpent is seen a woman with a whip in her hand. The whip probably represents lightning. In another picture we see winged riders mounted on dragons. We also see winged horses endowed with long tails with hooks; at another place winged cows with birds and monkeys hovering over carriages. There are men with two heads; and birds with three, and a tiger with eight, all with faces of men. There are pictures of men with their eyes drawn in a vertical position. One of them has a bow over his head and carries weapons in his hands, by his feet and on his head. One is holding a child in his outstretched hand and is eating its leg. There is no doubt that all this has some mythological meaning.

Closing Remarks.

The old Chinese religions form in my opinion strong parallels to the old Scandinavian religion, at all events as regards the older strata. Professor N. M. Petersen writes in his "Nordisk Mythologi": "In the religion of the Ases not only are several elements mixed, but there must also have been a still older teaching; it is, however, not certain whether it was composed of Finnish or Celtic constituents." In the person Fornjotr and his three sons: the Lord of the ocean (or water), the Lord of the fire and the Lord of the air (or wind), there is a strong similarity to the black, blue, red and yellow gods. Dr. Gudmund Schütte has shown in his work; "Hjemligt Hedenskab," that for instance the dog-king is a Danish god, who has not been identified until recently. Dr. Schütte also mentions the persons "Red," "King Snow," and others, helping to find parallels. Wojenshunter with his dogs

1. Compare the yellow god. About Hwangti it is said that he was the cloud-master and had cloud-officials. XI, 163, *Yün-kuan* 雲官.

2. Compare the red god.

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and Utgardsloke and the other persons in Utgard as they appear when visited by Thor, are other hints in this direction. I have, however, paid attention here only to the old religions of China to make an attempt, though imperfect, to draw their principal lines. Many things, especially belonging to the present day, such as Taoistic gods, festivals, etc.,I have not included, although evidences might also be found there. I have only endeavoured—because of my limited time—to show the principal gods of the oldest historical Chinese dynasties, whose religious beliefs were strongly influenced by the Hunnic (Tartaric) peoples, who lived around them. It is possible that Scandinavia, through Finland, was similarly influenced.

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VERSE TRANSLATIONS OF MENCIUS

BY

IVAN D. ROSS, M.A.

Mencius Book IV. Chp. 1-4

Li Leo, Ch. I, §1.

'Tis said Li Leo had eyes that might descry
The plumes of birds that soared far in the sky ;
Kung Hsü Tzŭ carved in wood and shaped a kite
So true, it spread its wings and rose in flight.
Were a man given sight like Li Leo's clear,
And had he cunning as Kung Hsŭ Tzŭ's peer,
Yet without use of compass and of square
He could not fashion round and corner'd fair.
Shih K'wang for skill in music was renowned,
Yet without use of reed that gives the sound
He could not tune the five notes of his scale.
Among our princes, virtuous men are found,
Yet does their rule from ancient standards fail,
They do not use the way of Yao and Hsuen ;
Good government in kindness must begin.

§2. For some there be full kindly in intent,—
Good-hearted purpose, barren of good deeds ;
And others wear a name benevolent,
Yet 'neath the sovereign still the subject bleeds ;
Princes who follow not the ancient way
Can keep no peaceful empire 'neath their sway,
Nor will their fame inspire the kings of later day.

§3. For purpose merely, be it ne'er so good,
In lieu of true statecraft has never stood ;
Benevolence is but an empty name
That can no fruit of rightful action claim.

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§4. One of our old songs saith : " Nor more nor less ;
Hold but to ancient law." That monarch's rule
Shall never err by virtue of excess
Who holds in honour all the former school.

That Sage, with vision gifted nigh divine,
Still used the compass, angle, rule and line,
To fashion round and square and plane and straight ;
And he with ear precise to mark the weight
Of music tones, scorned not to use at need
Th' inerrant canon of the sounding reed.
Then, when the king gives thought to plans of state
(His natural wisdom be it ne'er so great),
Let him not shun prescription's well-tried ways,
Impartial let him be to blame or praise,
Then, like the sun, on all he pours his gracious rays.

§5. This simple saying holds a truth profound :
" He that would climb, must step on rising ground ;
And who descends, must follow down the stream."
Our ancient glories are no empty dream ;
And he who, having true desire to rule,
Neglects his predecessors, is a fool.

For thus alone can true benevolence,
The kingly virtue, find itself fulfilled,
Befitting one to lofty station born.
Who fills high place and lacks benevolence
Sows broadcast ill on all who own his sway.

§6. When those that rule no standard recognize
By which to measure conduct at its worth ;
And those that serve, no law before their eyes,
Break precedence ; when those of loftiest birth
Hold no word sacred, and no honour know,
And " prince " though named, no princely nature show ;
When lower orders disregard the laws,
Mismanage justice and pervert true cause :—
If then the state a prosperous show maintains,
'Tis due to fortune, not to virtue's gains.

§7. Your city-walls may moulder into dust,
Your soldiers perish and their armour rust,
And still the kingdom's glory may abide ;

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Your field may lie unbroken by the plough,
Your gathered riches vanish like the snow,
And still your country lift her head in pride.
When princes violate fair courtesy's rule,
And lesser nobles fail their minds to school,
Then tribes of robbers o'er the nation ride,
And not a day shall pass but woe betide !

But Heaven's vengeance is not always slow ;
The old song says : " When Heaven could overthrow
The last degenerate of the House of Chow,
It was no tardy stroke that laid him low."

§8. To lend one's aid to sovereign's will
In schemes of good or schemes of ill ;
To seek high place for power and pelf,
And leave it when it suits one's self ;
This is to travesty the way
Followed by kings of olden day,
And Heaven's vengeance swift descends
On policy which seeks such ends.

But he that, holding office in the state,
Reproves his prince for acts of lawlessness,
Displays true reverence for his master's throne.
T' encourage good, and chide the evil deed,—
This is the loyalty we owe to kings ;
No thief of office, such a minister.

Li Leo, Ch. II.

The compass gives perfection of the round ;
The angle gives perfection of the square ;
The Sage, in whom virtue's true parts are found,
Shows all relations filled with perfect care.
Would rulers truly act the ruler's part ;
Would statesmen practise true the statesman's art
Then let them use the way of Yao and Hsuen,
And naught shall fail them full success to win.
But whoso will not use to serve his prince
The virtues Hsuen displayed in serving Yao
Shows no true loyalty towards his prince ;
And he that will not use to rule his subjects

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The arts which Yao employed to rule his subjects,
That sovereign is a robber of his state.

Confucius said: "There are two ways alone;
Benevolence, one; and no benevolence, one."

One prince with great injustice rules his state,—
Th' assassin's dagger his relentless fate,
And all his kingdom shall be lost to foes;
Another prince with lesser wrong holds sway,—
Danger shall dog his footsteps every day,
His borders narrow as his neighbour grows.
Such kings were Yu the dark and fierce Li:
Sons and sons' sons may mild and filial be,
But unborn generations yet shall know
The unchanged recompense that brought them low.
For history is a glass, in which the past
Is mirror of the future.—Saith the Ode:
"The mirror of the House of Yin, the last
Downfall of Hsia not distantly doth show."

Li Leo, Ch. III.

Three lines of princes held imperial sway
By gentle rule and courtesy's display;
Three lines of princes lost the empire's trust
By ruthless violence and unreinéd lust;
The kingdom's fall or rise, and weal or woe
Hangs on this test, as history can show.
When Heaven's Son walks not in this true way,
He cannot hold the four coasts 'neath his sway;
When High Officials from this right path stray,
In vain to gods of soil and grain they pray;
When nobles chieftains from this true way fall,
Lone and dishonoured stands th' ancestral hall;
When from this right path fail the people all,
Their very limbs shall servitude enthral.

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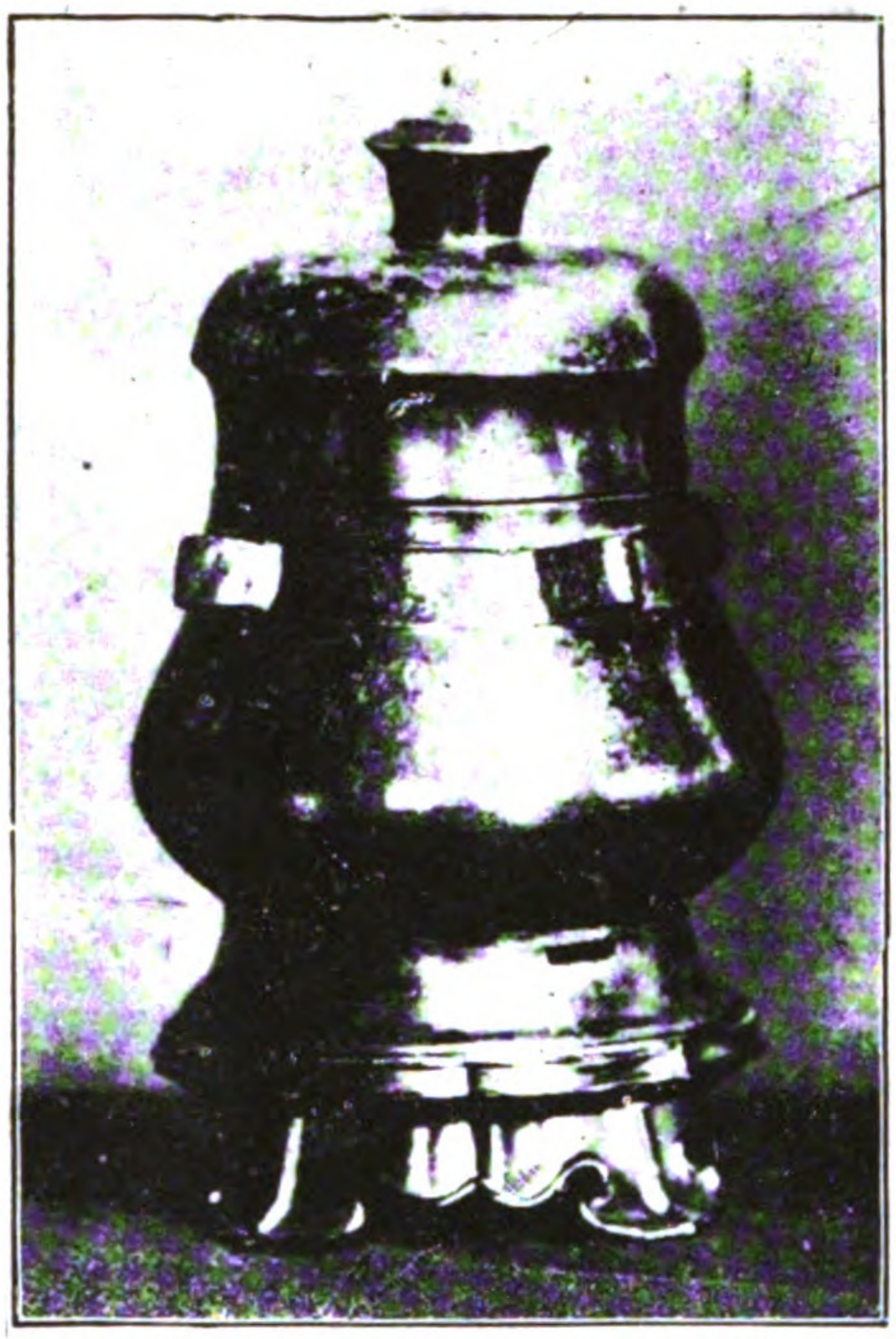
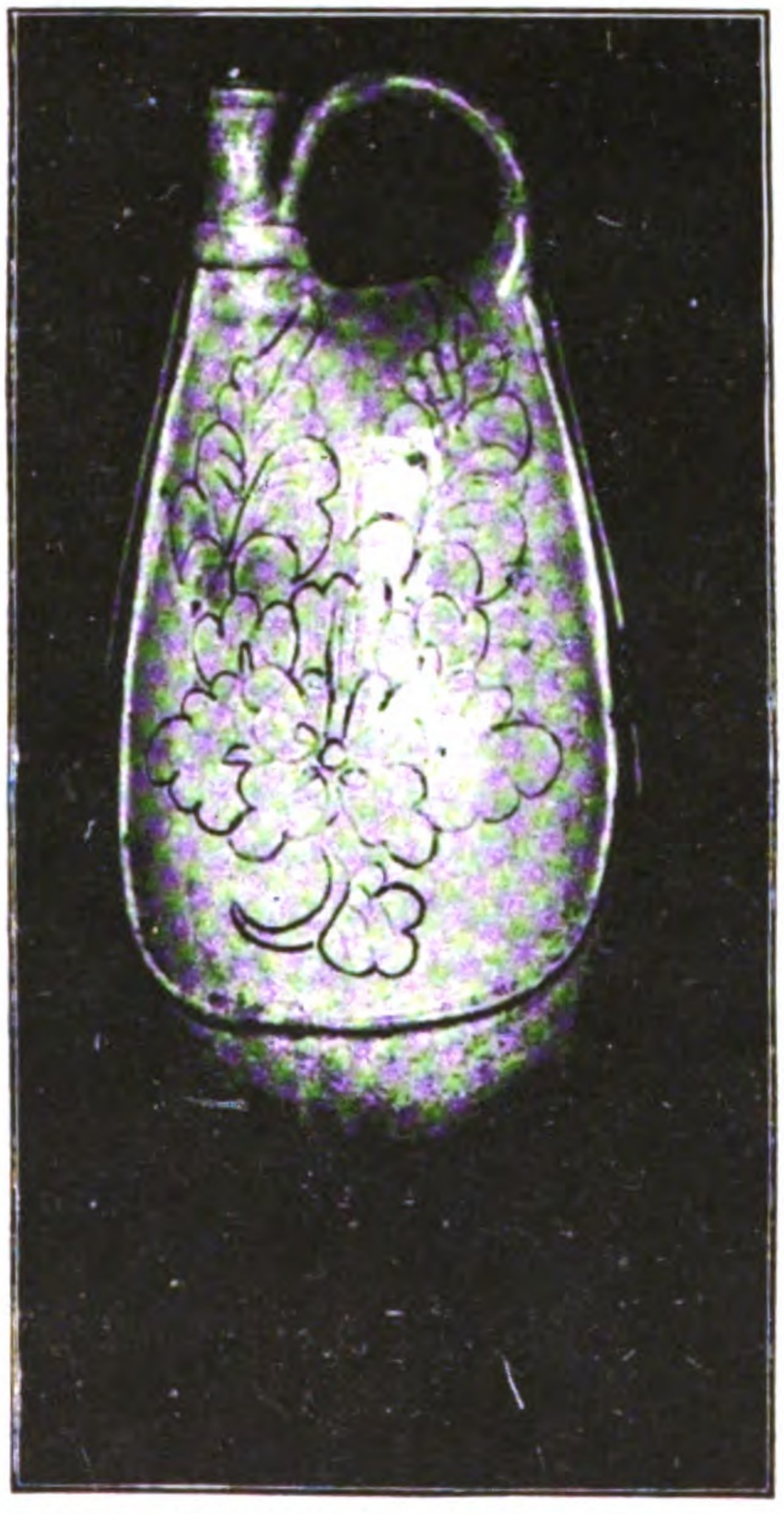


BRONZE WINE JAR. Height 6¾ in.



WINE BOTTLE. Height 11 in.

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TWO ART OBJECTS

FROM THE

COLLECTION OF R. D. ABRAHAM, ESQ.

Sung. Wine Bottle. Tu Ting Ware. Height 11-in.—Here again we see Græco-Bactrian influence in this well-modelled wine bottle.

The design is roughly incised and is gracefully worked on both sides of the piece. The swelling body ends in a narrow spout and is made of heavy and rough ware, a typical example of the Tu Ting type. The shape of the bottle is reminiscent of ancient Greece, and it must be admitted that Greek ideals did influence Chinese art ideals, but only to a certain extent, and it was not permanent. Even here there is a Chinese touch in the design. While admitting that this piece possesses a singular charm, still it must be emphasized that the art of China is indigenous.

Han. Bronze Wine Jar. Height 6¾-in.—One of the chief attractions of ancient bronze is the patina which is usually of russet brown, malachite green and lapis lazuli blue. This piece possesses all three colours of patina, and added attractions are its shape and the ancient script which is found in the interior of the cover and bottom of the piece, the purport of which is unknown to me. If anyone is interested a rubbing of it can be made which will no doubt lead to its decipherment. The balance and proportion and the material used speak much for the art of moulding, and the knowledge of material of the Han epoch. At the top, just below the cover are three triangular projections for straps to pass through and also three slits at the bottom of the bottle; when these are threaded and made secure it could hang safely on a belt or could be conveniently carried.

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MORE ABOUT THE CHARACTERS 汐 AND 潮

(*See Vol. III, p. 423, and Vol. IV; p. 40*)

A. C. Moule

As Professor Giles has mentioned my name in connection with this word, I may perhaps be allowed to make a few remarks on his interesting note. For the history and meaning of *hsi*, a technical term in a branch of knowledge (the tides) which is almost necessarily of local interest, the Professor may seem to place too much trust in the usage of the poets ; but about the fact that the word has been used for the evening tide, the ebb tide, and the neap tide, I do not think there can be serious dispute. When we come to the meaning of *ch'ao* 朝 in the phrase 朝宗于海 from the *Yü kung* and *Shih ching*, it is difficult not to be surprised at the Professor's methods. First he seeks to discredit the traditional explanation on these grounds : " It is difficult to conceive a more fantastic picture than that of the Yangtze and the Han rivers hurrying forth to go to the court of the ocean " and " These venerable scholars believed that the earth was square." A friendship of many years has proved to me that Professor Giles' opinion on the meaning of his own language is very valuable, though there must be *accessible* scientific facts of which he is ignorant ; and living at Cambridge he must recall :

" Next *Camus*, reverend Sire, went footing slow,"

a line which often provokes a smile, and yet is authentic. If he had said the *Yü Kung* was the last place in the world in which to expect fantastic personification of a river, few would have denied it. But we are completely ignorant of the real origin of the words or how they found their way into the *Yü kung*, and we must do our best to understand them with what assistance may be available. Professor Giles sets about this as follows: He *assumes* without producing one particle of evidence that 朝 here stands for 潮. He actually says, " The character 潮 *ch'ao* . . . (*sic*) occurs in the earliest

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documents which have come down to us." He then takes the second of the two instances of the phrase in the *Shuo wên*[1]; omits the word 水 shui; and with "no hesitation" translates 朝宗于海 "The tides originate in the sea." Applying this as he asks us to do, to the *Yü kung* we have, "The tides of the Chiang and the Han originate in the sea." The old interpretation, accepted more or less exactly by Legge, Chavannes, Couvreur, Forke, and by "*Giles*" (2nd edition), means that the rivers were in direct and proper communication with the sea. Fantastic in expression it may be, but it seems to me more sensible as a description of *the result of Yü's work* in Ching chou whose eastern boundary was some 400 or 500 miles from the sea, than "the tides of the Chiang and the Han (which falls into the Chiang 250 miles above the highest range of the tides) originate (as the result of Yü's efforts) in the sea."

There is a great deal which may be said even by an amateur on the meaning of 朝宗于海 and of its association with, the tide and with the word 潮 *ch'ao*; but I must come back to this on some other occasion. I may just add, as an example of how words may change their meaning, that a Japanese friend (backed by a dictionary) tells me that in Japan 潮狩 is a common expression meaning "to hunt (for shellfish) *at low tide in the evening*"!

* * *

Before we add "moon when in *perigee*" to the meanings of 天 t'ien in our dictionaries, may I very humbly ask Professor Giles and Mr. Arlington to look at the place in *Kuan tzŭ* once more? The author is speaking of the rain and the rising of the springs in the three Autumn months, and proceeds 雨露風天地湊汐利 which may perhaps mean something like this: "Rain and dew come from the sky; the earth collects the wealth of the *hsi*." I do not pretend to say whether 汐 *hsi* is here a common noun or the name of a river, but I shall be surprised if it turns out to mean "night tide." 汐利 may be (if I am at all right) a special instance of the very common general expression 水利 "irrigation works," "profit derived from streams."

Under this heading Professor Giles brought in his old friend 刀筆 *tao pi* and I venture to do the same. The Chinese have no doubt used the phrase, whatever its origin, for a "pen," even for the verb "to write." We read that Wang Ch'ung wrote on the walls of his room 刀筆於戶牖牆壁. But when I asked a Japanese what *tao pi* meant he did not say "a knife for scratching out and

1. The *Shuo wên* reads 滭: 水朝宗于海; the words are a definition of 滭.

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a pen for writing," but " a *sword* and a pen." A Japanese gentleman used, it is said, to carry two swords and if this is true it lends interest to this account of a Korean *tao pi* upon which I have stumbled. 刀筆之鞘刻木爲之其制三隔其一藏筆其二藏刀刀形扉利一刀差短散員而下官吏祗應房子親侍皆佩之 " The sheath of the *tao pi* is carved out of wood. It is made with three divisions, in one of which is placed a pen (*pi*) and in the other two, swords (*tao*). The shape of the swords is sharp pointed; one sword is shorter than the other. Titular officers, etc. etc., all carry them." A Korean gentleman might carry two hats but surely not two " knives for scratching out." The Chinese author betrays no surprise. He merely records that that is how they made them in Korea, with places for one *pi* and two *tao*. And we can hardly help asking whether the " knife," even in China, was really there as the assistant or as the less mighty rival of the pen.

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"THE CAPS AND BELTS"

BY

PROF. H. A GILES

The "Caps and Belts" (high officers) go seeking each other out.

Mr. Waley has called in an ancient commentator to back up what I hold to be a very faulty rendering of a line in an early Chinese poem (Vol. III, p. 377). This interpretation is provided, he alleges, by "Prince Chao-ming, the compiler (in the 6th century) of the Wên Hsüan," in which collection the poem in question is found. Prince Chao-ming is said to have been a good scholar in his day—princes always are said to be good in any line they may take up; but although this prince may very probably have made, or have caused to be made, a collection of his favourite poems, I doubt if he made any commentary, and still more that any such commentary has survived the long centuries which have passed since his death in A.D. 531. The first commentary on the *Wên Hsüan* appears to have been the work of Li Shan, who was called the "Book Basket," because he was able to hold the works of others but unable to produce anything of his own. This was subsequent to A.D. 660. After him came a crowd of commentators, so that it is quite doubtful who is really responsible for what Mr. Waley regards as a sheet-anchor. Unfortunately for such ancient sheet-anchors, they have a trick of rusting as time goes on, and finally crumbling away, giving place to newer and sounder substitutes. Do not the Greek and Latin classics furnish us with endless examples of interpretations which once held the field but are now relegated to the dust-bin? What did the Revisers of the Old and New Testaments spend many years upon, except the inaccuracies of former scholiasts? Did not Chu Hsi make hay of the exegesis of the Han scholars?—all of which leads necessarily up to the admission that a Chinese commentator, even Prince Chao-ming, may be wrong.

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In order to put the whole case before readers of the *New China Review*, with the hope of soliciting opinions, for or against, from some of the numerous competent sinologues now to be found in China, I here reproduce my brief notice, published in the *Cambridge Review* on the 22nd November, 1918, of Mr. Waley's volume, with the important addition of the Chinese text.

CHINESE POETRY

A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems. Translated by Arthur Waley. London : Constable & Co. 1918.

Mr. Arthur Waley may be congratulated upon the production of a very interesting volume, which it is to be hoped will lead him on to further incursions into the illimitable field of Chinese literature. It may be said at once that the mere attempt to translate 170 Chinese poems is of itself no mean achievement. A Chinese poem can rarely be read off at first sight, even by an educated native. For the Chinese boy there are numerous anthologies wherein the great masterpieces may be studied with the aid of exhaustive commentaries, but to the foreign student these helps often prove almost as difficult nuts to crack as the actual poems themselves.

In his translations Mr. Waley will have nothing to do with rhyme, for two reasons : (1) " because it is impossible to produce in English rhyme-effects at all similar to those of the original, where the same rhyme sometimes runs through a whole poem "; and (2) " because the restrictions of rhyme necessarily injure the vigour of one's language or the literalness of one's version." Mr Waley further rejects blank verse, " because the essence of blank verse is that it varies the position of its pauses, whereas in Chinese the stop always comes at the end of the couplet," though most people would say that the " essence " of blank verse was the absence of rhyme.

It is a fact that Chinese rhymes are not always true to the ear, though they were once, and the majority of them are so still ; just as the first two lines of the Canterbury Tales no longer rhyme in modern English, though many succeeding couplets rhyme correctly enough.

It is also a fact that the same rhyme sometimes runs through a whole poem ; on the other hand, Chinese poems are mostly very short. For the poems exacted until recent years from all candidates for high honours at the public examinations, a maximum of 12 lines was fixed, the argument being that if a man could not express a thought within tha space, the thought could scarcely be worth expressing. Mr. Waley, however, gets a strong backer in Mr.

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George Moore who has recently stated (*The Observer* of June 9) that "verse cannot be translated into verse," and that all such attempts are "an amateurish adventure." It will surprise many to hear that Conington and a few other translators were amateurs,—a question which cannot be considered here. More to the point is the fact that rhyme is very dear to the English ear; also that the bulk of Chinese poetry is lyrical, in both the original and the later senses of the term, and that a no lesser authority than Swinburne has said (*Essays and Studies*, 1875), "A rhymeless lyric is a maimed thing." In any case, rhyme or no rhyme, it will be admitted on all sides that accurate transmission of the meaning, and, if possible, some slight indication of the spirit of the text, should be the chief aim of all translators of poetry and prose alike.

"I have aimed," says Mr. Waley, "at literal translation, not paraphrase;" and he adds that "any literal translation of Chinese poetry is to some extent rhythmical, for the rhythm of the original obtrudes itself." But a strictly literal translation of a Chinese poem is, as will be shown, an absolute impossibility. Even the baldest prose version will sometimes require paraphrase; a rhymed version still more so, the condition in both cases being that the licence be *sumpta pudenter*. It is further difficult to see how the rhythm of a five- or seven-syllable Chinese line can obtrude itself into the ten- or a dozen-syllable line of the translation.

The above points will be brought out by analysing a single poem taken at random; *e.g.*, No. 3 on p 40, attributed to the 2nd cent. B.C. Each line consists of five words, as follows:

16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
戚	極	雙	兩	王	長	冠	洛	游	驅	騁	斗	忽	人	磊	青
戚	宴	闕	宮	侯	衢	帶	中	戲	車	厚	酒	如	生	磊	青
何	娛	百	遙	多	羅	自	何	宛	策	不	相	遠	天	澗	陸
所	心	餘	相	第	夾	相	轡	與	驀	駕	娛	行	地	中	上
迫	意	尺	望	宅	巷	索	轡	洛	馬	薄	樂	客	間	石	柏

1.—Green green mound on cypress
2.—Piled-up piled-up stream middle stone
3.—Man born heaven earth between
4.—Suddenly like far walk traveller
5.—Gallon wine mutual enjoyment pleasure
6.—Moderate thick not be thin
7.—Urge carriage whip old horse
8.—Wander amuse Wan with Lo
9.—Lo middle what dense dense

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10.—Cap belt from towards rope
11.—Long street net cross lane
12.—Prince noble many mansion dwelling
13.—Two palace afar mutual look
14.—Double gate hundred odd feet
15.—Extreme feast joy heart idea
16.—Dejected, dejected why this oppress ?

Mr. Waley's Version.

1.—Green, green, the cypress on the mound.
2.—Firm, firm, the boulder in the stream.
3.—Man's life lived within this world,
4.—Is like the sojourning of a hurried traveller.
5.—A cup of wine together will make us glad,
6.—And a little friendship is no little matter.
7.—Yoking my chariot I urge my stubborn horses,
8.—I wander about in the streets of Wan and Lo.
9.—In Lo Town how fine everything is !
10.—The "Caps and Belts" (high officers) go seeking each other out.
11.—The great boulevards are intersected by lanes,
12.—Wherein are the town-houses of Royal Dukes.
13.—The two palaces stare at each other from afar,
14.—The twin gates rise a hundred feet.
15.—By prolonging the feast let us keep our hearts gay,
16.—And leave no room for sadness to creep in.

It must be borne in mind that there is nothing like inflexion or agglutination in Chinese, nor even punctuation, except in text-books for students. Many words too have various senses, and it is often difficult to hit on the right one.

It cannot be said that in the above rendering Mr. Waley has been unnecessarily diffuse ; still he has been obliged to use 129 words as against 80 in the Chinese, each of the 80 being a monosyllable, whereas Mr. Waley's 129 words run to 168 syllables, into which he claims that "the rhythm of the original obtrudes itself." In regard to the translation, merely as a vehicle for conveying the poet's meaning, a few remarks may be allowed.

The poem was intended as a protest against a painful feature of the age in which it was written ;—great wealth alongside of the direst poverty. Lines 1 and 2 are suggestive of permanency ; lines 3 and 4 point to the transitory nature of human life.

Line 6 is a hit at luxurious living, in the sense of being a poor man's apology for only a "gallon" (= 8 Chinese pints) of wine.

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"Thick" is commonly used for hospitable or generous treatment of guests, and "thin" for the opposite; and with reference to the gist of the poem the line would mean,

Though only moderately lavish, this cannot be considered mean.

Mr. Waley here divides the poem into two parts; but the 16 lines are properly four quatrains, as can be seen at once from the rhymes. Lines 7 and 8 belong to the poverty-note struck in lines 5 and 6, the last word but one in line 7 meaning old and jaded, not "stubborn."

In line 9, the words "dense, dense," refer to the crowded population, and not to the beauty of the town. This will be apparent from line 10, the meaning of which Mr. Waley has missed, merely from having taken the wrong turning in a maze. The last word in this line has many various sense; among others, the original meaning, a rope, and a later meaning, namely, to search, out, based upon the guidance given by a rope, precisely as "clue" is used in English. Mr. Waley has adopted the latter sense, without a very convincing effect. Now the third and fourth words, "from towards," in line 10 are exactly the equivalent of "to and fro;" so that the line may now be rendered

High officers pass to and fro in unbroken succession.

In line 11, "boulevard" might be criticized by some, as the Chinese have never planted trees along the streets of their cities; and in line 12 "Royal Dukes" would have been more correctly rendered "Princes and nobles." Line 15 would be modified with advantage into something like

Plenty of feasting is the way to keep gay . . .

to prepare for line 16, in which the poet suddenly turns from the wealth and luxury he has been describing and asks,

Why then am I thus sadly oppressed?

the Chinese word for "oppress" having often special reference to poverty; or to use a popular tag of the day,

But where do I come in?

So far the *Cambridge Review*. To return to the line in question, Prince Chao-ming (to keep up the illusion) limits his explanation to 索求也言冠冕之人自相追求也, which Mr. Waley translates by, "*So* means 'to seek'; the poet says that the high officials follow and seek one another." Here I might easily say "this sort of thing will not do," for Mr. Waley has jettisoned the last word, "out," from his original translation. Omitting also, as flippant, the fact that if these officials were making calls, "one another" being a reciprocal pronoun, neither party would

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have been at home to receive the callers, what I have now to say is that Mr. Waley mistranslates the explanation by Prince Chao-ming. Mr. Waley's (*not* Prince Chao-ming's) "one another" is of course, covered by the word 相 mutual, reciprocal; but the student looks in vain for any word which brings out the meaning of 自, the first meaning of which, given in K'ang Hsi, is 由 "from," and the second is 從 "from." Nor indeed in Mr. Waley's version is any translation of 自 required; the poet might as well have left it out. That a common meaning of 自 is "from," and that a common meaning of 相 is "to" or "towards," led me to understand the poet as saying,

> How densely crowded are the streets of Lo!
> Strings of high officials pass to and fro
> Through a network of great thoroughfares and lanes,
> Past the many mansions of princes and nobles.

Such still seems to me to have been the poet's vision; and in spite of Mr. Waley's cry that "this sort of thing will not do," I shall continue to cling for safety to my rope.

On p. 377 Mr. Waley speaks of my "resenting the suggestion that my own translation (of the 詩品) should be compared with the original." Where does he find the authority for this statement! On the contrary; when Mr. Waley (p. 288) "asked the reader to compare my translation with the original," which, of course, was a sly hint at my inaccuracy and which he must have known that many readers could not do, I challenged him to produce the correct translation, a burden which he has now transferred to "hands far more experienced and competent than his own."

Again (pp. 376, 377). Mr. Waley suggests that the five "distinguished educationalists" gave their opinions (p. 287) "possibly out of politeness," implying that I had previously given them my own version of the passage, thus sacrificing the real meaning to a paltry literary score. *Credat Judaeus Apella!*

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THE THOUSAND BUDDHAS OF THE TUN-HUANG CAVES.

BY

HARRISON K. WRIGHT, M.A.

In the spring of 1906, Sir Aurel Stein set forth on the second of his explorations of Central Asia. A little over a year later he arrived at Tun-huang, a hsien city not far from the border of north-west Kansu Province, purposing to visit the famous caves of the Thousand Buddhas, which are located a few miles to the south-east of the town. Before doing so, he learned of the existence of a store of Buddhist manuscripts which had been recently discovered in a walled-up section of one of the caves. Naturally he was eager for a sight of them, and took care, on visiting the site, to cultivate the Taoist bonze who was in charge of the treasure trove. Managing thus to gain entrance to the cave, he found a stupendous task—for there were thousands of manuscripts to be looked over. Only a cursory examination was possible, but presently something better than Buddhist classics in Chinese and Central Asian languages came to light, in the form of a series of Buddhist paintings, chiefly on silk, of the T'ang period, and evidently of the highest importance for the study of the history of Buddhist art. The bonze in charge fortunately prized the paintings less than the manuscripts, and by a judicious mixture of wheedling and of argument (in both of which Sir Aurel's Chinese assistant took a chief part), and of remuneration, almost the entire collection of paintings was acquired, together with a selection of manuscripts. Toilsomely the whole was transported through the deserts back to India, and later arrived safely in England, where it required seven years of labour in the British Museum to clean and remount the paintings alone ; for they had been badly crushed in the long years of hiding, and only the extreme dryness of the climate had permitted the colours to remain at all. The

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Elgin marbles were appropriated. The Peking astronomical instruments were looted, and as loot the guilty nation was compelled to return them; but the Tun-huang paintings and manuscripts were rescued from almost certain destruction and preserved with care; and now a selection of the artistically important paintings is reproduced, half of them in colour, for the use of students everywhere. Not having seen the originals, we cannot speak of the success of the reproduction by photography and three-colour process, but the attraction of the reproductions themselves is so great that we must believe they are as nearly successful as it was possible to be, and we can hardly be too thankful that at last, fifteen years after their discovery, they are available for all who are interested in Buddhist and East Asian art.

In his "Ruins of Desert Cathay," Sir Aurel gave a popular and personal account of his expedition, and in his "Serindia" appears his detailed report, in the production of which he is assisted by several experts. The present work was projected because of limitations, chiefly of size, in the detailed report, and is largely devoted to the exposition of the pictures from the artistic side; but so closely is this bound up with the archæological and iconographic sides which are treated more at length in the detailed report, that it is almost necessary to have a copy of "Serindia" for reference, if one is to get the full benefit of the work. But not only that; Sir Aurel presupposes in the reader an acquaintance with the principal work already done by students in this field, and without such an acquaintance it will hardly be possible to follow the explanations in many cases. In particular, one needs to have absorbed much of the results of the brilliant and interesting labour of M. Foucher, in his "Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde" and his "Beginnings of Buddhist Art." For the student thus prepared the pictures take on added meaning at every turn. And it will be found, moreover, that a mastery of them, with Sir Aurel's text, will be of great assistance to the appreciation of the reproduction of the frescoes on the walls of the caves of the Thousand Buddhas; a work that is appearing now, as the result of the labours of the French expedition led by Professor Paul Pelliot, which was able to acquire many of the manuscripts and all of the paintings left by Sir Aurel, and to photograph the frescoes in the caves. The remainder of the manuscripts have been sent to Peking by official order, many being "lost" on the way. We can guess what might have happened to the paintings, if Peking had sent for them.

The introductory essay by Laurence Binyon discusses in illuminating fashion the art of the T'ang dynasty, and the artistic

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meaning of the Tun-huang paintings, and furnishes just the link needed between the work of M. Foucher, and the descriptive text of Sir Aurel. The former has prepared us to realize that strange marvel, that Greek models should be transmitted through the Buddhist art of ancient Gandhara, in north-west India, to China, so that Chinese artists should actually be influenced by Greek achievements, and wed their art to the art whose home is Athens. Surely it is not wholly due to religious considerations that they did so; surely they recognized beauty and took it to themselves for the very love of beauty. No religion is able to flourish long unless it cultivates the beautiful as well as the true and the good; and no more striking evidence of the right of Buddhism to the title of a world religion can be adduced than the fact that her devoted artists recognized the superb beauty of Greek models, and adopted them, while yet maintaining their own individuality, which marks even the most "Indian" of the Tun-huang paintings, and proves that Chinese artists were worthy of the goodly company of Greece and Gandhara. For even a tyro in art criticism can, with a little guidance, recognize the Greek touch, and distinguish the Chinese from the Gandharan style.

As one studies the pictures the sense grows within one of entering into the inner sanctuary of the religious consciousness of men whose feelings were sincere, delicate and broadly human. Indeed, it was a vivid, rich world in which the Buddhist of these paintings lived. If any one will first read the translation by Madame Chavannes in the present number of the *Review*, which deals with the Tun-huang region, and then study the paintings carefully, under Sir Aurel's guidance, he will get some idea of how the artists people the bleak desert with the kindly creatures of their imagination, as well as the terrible ones;—that desert which was still alive with the ghosts of those who gave their lives to the building of the Great Wall. These benevolent and beautiful and powerful and sometimes fantastic and frightful creatures and scenes from the Buddhist Scriptures were immortalized on silk, mocking the cruel winds and the savage forays, and giving colour and value to life. What a host is here of Buddhas, of Bodhisattvas great and small, and of their disciples, of Guardian Kings, and Garudas and demons, of dancers and musicians and souls new born into Paradise, of flowers and jewels and gorgeous apparel! Vigorous action and ineffable rest are alike represented, and the worshipper is bid to be of good cheer, for in the world to come is fullness of joy. Truly, the undevout student of Buddhist art must be mad.

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Christian art has not yet made much impression in China. It is true that art itself as compared with what it was in the T'ang period is now either decadent or non-existent. But with the Chinese renaissance there is sure to be a new artistic period. The Christian church is taking account of the renaissance in other spheres, and she will do well not to neglect the possible influence of Christian art on the new China. It is an interesting fact to note, in this connection, that just as the earlier Chinese artists portrayed Gautama as though he were pure Chinese (in the scenes representing Jataka legends) so have native Christian artists treated the figure of Christ.

Coming now to the individual pictures and the description of them by Sir Aurel, we note that the identification of the figures was entrusted to a colleague, M. Raphael Petrucci, who in addition to an acquaintance with Buddhist art, was well grounded in sinology. Unhappily, M. Petrucci was not spared to complete his labours, and we have to mourn his loss, together with that of another collaborator, M. Chavannes. The description of the pictures suffers in consequence, and we hope that the *lacunae* can be made good in a future edition. A detailed examination of so rich a store is impossible in a review, but a few general remarks, together with a few details, may be in order. Of the subjects selected for representation, we note that Avalokitesvara appears most frequently, and there is as yet no suggestion that he is other than male. Indeed, in one of the paintings (Plate xvii) there appears the Indian goddess Hariti (in a position subordinate to Avalokitesvara), whom M. Foucher calls the Buddhist Madonna. One cannot but wonder what part she may have played in turning the Indian male god into the Chinese goddess of mercy, the truly Chinese Buddhist Madonna whom we know. It is a problem that still puzzles us ; but just as the Tun-huang paintings have helped to clear up the question of the origins of the Buddhist art of Japan, so there may lie buried somewhere in this great land, waiting for the explorer's spade, the evidence that shall clear up the connection between Avalokitesvara and Kwan-yin. But the Bodhisattva who incarnates mercy is not alone ; we find as well Ksitigarbha and the Buddhas Amitabha, Maitreya, and Bhaisajyaraja (otherwise Bhaisajyaguru), the King or the Sage of Medicine. The latter, of whom Eitel's *Handbook* appears to be quite innocent, and who is barely mentioned by Sir Charles Eliot, in his great work, is the chief subject of two of the finest paintings of all, represented in the first three plates. We recommend the careful study of these to any who desire a sympathetic understanding of the soul of Chinese Buddhism at its best

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Mr. Binyon speaks warm words of appreciation, and he does not overstate the case.

Aside from Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, the vigorous figures of the Lokapalas, or Guardians of the Four Quarters, are favourites for treatment. They provide the proper foil to the dreamily restful spirits. It shows the essentially healthy character of the artists that they could perceive that men do not always wish to be "carried to the skies on flowery beds of ease." Of course this healthiness has its roots in the whole Mahāyana revolt against the narrow ideals of the Hinayana teachings, but it draws fresh life from the vigour of the soul of the Chinese artist.

In the hope of sending the reader to drink at the fountain itself, we venture a brief description of one of the reproductions, the Paradise of Bhaisajyaguru, presented in Plates i and ii. The painting is in the Indian manner, somewhat crowded and lacking the fine spacing which the Chinese style employs. The Buddha sits in the center, flanked by the Bodhisattvas Manjusri and Samantabhadra (representing Wisdom and Power). These in turn are flanked by numerous minor Bodhisattvas, all distinguished by haloes, and by Guardian Kings and demons. On a platform below is a woman dancer, accompanied by eight musicians and two child dancers. Twelve Dharmapalas, Guardians of the Law, are disposed in the bottom corners. A Garuda (half bird, half woman) is just below the dancer's platform, and in the lotus lake are flowers supporting souls newborn. The colours are glowing and varied, but it is the variety of expression in the faces that deserves the most careful study. As Mr. Binyon says, "We are taken into an atmosphere of strange peace, which yet seems filled with buoyant motion, and floating strains of music."

We think that one of the pictures that will most repay study is Plate xvii, though artistically, it may not stand in the highest rank. The decorative effect is especially rich. Avalokitesvara appears in his eleven-headed, thousand-armed form, but the effect is not repulsive as it is so apt to be in a Chinese modern temple. The presence of the Indian deities Indra and Brahman is noteworthy. Below them appear two Sivaitic deities, but Sir Aurel has them in the wrong order in his description. The Chinese in the cartouches says quite plainly that it is Maheśvara 摩醯守羅 on the right (on Siva's bull) and Mahakala 摩訶迦羅 on the left. The Chinese of the first title is somewhat unusual, for it does not appear in this form in the 佛學大辭典; the 磨 being there changed to 摩.

In this connection it may be as well to call attention to two other small errors in the descriptive text, both of them doubtless

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due, as was the first, to absence of needed help from the sinological side. The first is in Plate xii which represents "Scenes from Gautama Buddl 's Life." Of the first scene the text says, "We see the prince riding out of the green-tiled gateway of the battlemented courtyard of his father's palace," and of the second scene, "We see the prince riding with bent head from the same palace gateway." But the Chinese inscription in the cartouches reads, of the first scene, "The prince goes out of the east gate of the city" 太子出城東門; and of the second, "The prince goes out of the south gate of the city." 太子出城南門. In both cases a Chinese city wall is quite visible.

Again at the end of the description of Plate xx, we read, "The Chinese inscription in the left top corner describes the painting as the gift of a son in memory of his father." As a matter of fact, it is a daughter, and not a son, who makes the gift. One of the characters is a little blurred, but the whole is clear enough, and reads, "(From) the ninth daughter, in token of eternal service," 女弟子九娘永爲供養. These, however, are very tiny spots on the sun.

Among the uncoloured illustrations, one of the more interesting is Plate xvi. The combination and contrast of Indian and Chinese treatment is very marked, and a special opportunity for study rises from the fact that the figures of Avalokitesvara in the upper half are mainly Indian, while those of Samantabhadra and Manjusri in the lower half are nainly Chinese (witness also the legs of the elephant !). The pictures of the donors at the bottom bear a date, reminding us of the happy custom of the Chinese to be exact in these matters, as the Indian artists were not. In many of the pictures where no date is affixed, it is possible to guess it approximately from the style of dress worn by the donors. The two Bodhisattvas give respectively the "gesture" (derived from India, and more commonly preserved in Lama temples than in those purely Chinese) of argumentation, and of adoration. According to M. Foucher, there are nine "gestures"; they are like the leit-motifs in Wagner, perceptible signs for the conveyance of general ideas. One or another of these gestures appears in most of the pictures.

Plate xi contains the feature of souls as babes in lotus buds, floating on the lake of the Western Paradise and waiting for the buds to open, so that they may be born into the Paradise. Plates vi and vii represent the Paradise of the historical Buddha, Sakyamuni, and are full of the most attractive and absorbing detail. Plate xiv has special iconographic interest. It represents historic statues of Sakyamuni, known to have existed in various parts

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of India; in particular one which the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Tsang saw at Bodh-gaya, the spot assigned by tradition as the scene of the historic Buddha's attainment of enlightenment.

Among the smaller plates, the most noteworthy is No. xxxiv, which reproduces on a scale of one-tenth only and so cannot do justice to the original; it is a reduction of a large embroidery picture representing Sakyamuni on the Vulture Peak, and is one of the most important of the Tun-huang finds. It is wonderful to think of these colours, which glow as if in a Botticelli painting, surviving the chances of centuries, crushed in a dark cave under a heavy burden of paper, and now brought to the light and stitched by a skilful needlewoman on a new canvas backing, so that they may be preserved indefinitely. The principal subjects of the other small plates are Bhaisajyaguru, the Buddha legend, Ksitigarbha, Avalokitesvara, and the Lokapalas.

Our brief tale is told. We turn from a visit to this strange and beautiful world constructed from the materials of the faith once delivered to Buddhist saints, with feelings akin to those of Aeneas or Dante returning to the earth. We have been in fairyland, and while we may not accept its details as authentic, its spirit lifts our spirits to a place where we breathe freely in a pure and bracing atmosphere. All this we owe to the intelligence, courage, patience and devotion of Sir Aurel Stein, and his colleagues great and small. *Finis coronat opus*; the labour of the recovery of these treasures was worthy of the labour that produced them. Long may the gallant explorer live to receive the congratulations and thanks he so richly deserves, and to gain fresh laurels in his chosen field.

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SINOLOGICAL NOTES

BY

L. C. ARLINGTON.

(*The numbers refer to Giles' Chinese-English Dictionary.*)

There is considerable entertainment and not a little knowledge to be gained by looking up the origin of Chinese characters. They may often be compared to a "variable" star whose brightness it is difficult to keep track of. Sometimes they shine of the 1st or 2nd magnitude, go back to the 8th or 10th, or disappear altogether. One such character we now have to deal with, is *shih* 濕 No. 9938; the *su* form of 溼 No. 9937. Although 濕 is the common form of 溼, the former is correctly read *t'a*, the ancient name of a river in Shantung, identical with 濕 10,540, the original form of which was 濕; but probably altered owing to its similarity to 濕, the original form of which was 濕. *T'a* 濕, again, was originally written 濕. The more we study the character, the more the confusion connected with it. For example: Playfair in his "Cities and Towns of China" states that 濕陽 was formerly a town N. W. of *Ch'ing Ch'êng* in Shantung. The *T'zŭ Yüan* says nothing about a town, but that 濕 is the name of a river S. W. of 茌平縣 in Shantung.

K'anghsi, however, says that *T'a* (濕) is (1) the name of a river that takes its rise at Wu Yang Hsien (武陽縣) in Shantung; and (2) the name of a district, viz., *T'a yin* (Shantung), originally the feudal state of *T'ayin Hou* (濕陰侯). The 集韻 states that 濕 is read *lei* (濾 or 濾), and is the name of a river which takes its rise at 雁門 in Shensi. As 累 (omitting the water radical) is read *lei*, it is difficult to account for the variant *t'a*, simply because the symbol for water is omitted, and cannot possibly affect the sound.

So much for the elucidation of the character 濕, which was originally written 濕, subsequently altered to 濕, then to 濕, not read *shih* at all, but *t'a* and *lei* with meanings of rivers and towns, and had no connection whatsoever with "damp," "moist," etc. 濕 has also the meaning "to flap or wag," as a cow's ears; but it is then read *chih* or *chêh*. *Vide* the *Shih Ching* sentence 其耳濕濕

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(the cow) "wagged her ears." And not, as one might imagine from the modern meaning, that the ears were wet!

* * *

Under 9849 𤣩 Dr. Giles says "The common, but incorrect way of writing 𤣩 649." Strange to say, Dr. Giles says just the reverse of what *is* correct. K'anghsi for example, gives all the meanings under 𤣩, and under 𤣩 says "the same as 𤣩."

From many years' experience and observation, I know that writers in *Yamêns*—as is borne out in official documents, which any one can verify for himself—always write 𤣩, never 𤣩. That is, they use 𤣩 for both the sounds *ch'ên* and *shên*. The *T'zŭ Yüan* gives only 𤣩, i.e., *Shên* as a surname and *ch'ên* "to sink." 𤣩 is not mentioned at all. 𤣩 is therefore the *su* form. Under 𤣩 Giles says "See No. 12,635"; but what connection 𤣩 has with 𤣩 is not clear, unless (as is most likely) the number referred to is a misprint? With the modernizing of the Chinese ideograph, many of the original meanings and even the sounds are fated to disappear altogether. In most modern dictionaries edited and compiled by native scholars, 𤣩 is written down as *chen* and *ch'eng*. *Shên* is not given at all, even as a surname.

Giles' dictionary, despite the mistakes, which are surprisingly few indeed for such a voluminous work, will be the standard for years to come.

* * *

Under 1302 Dr. Giles translates 校人 as a "fish-pond keeper." But there are records to disprove this definition. The correct meaning of the term is "Keeper of the Stud," as can be seen from the following: 鄭子產數校人畜生魚於池管之 "Cheng Tzŭ-ch'an (Biog. Dict. No. 1029; Kung Sung Ch'iao) ordered the *Keeper of his stud* to attend to the rearing of the fish in the pond." 校人 is equivalent to 校正 (Keeper of the Stud). The 夏官之屬 records the following: 數人亦曰校正佚周書校正屬御是也. That is, "*Hsiao jên* is also called *Hsiao chêng*"; and the I Chou Shu states "that the charioteer was exceedingly cruel." The above excerpt makes it quite clear that *hsiao jên* or *hsiao chêng* was the official title of the Keeper of the Stud, and not "a fish-pond keeper." The commentators apparently all took 校人 to mean "a small officer over the ponds;" but Dr. Legge himself was in doubt if it had that meaning, for in a note he says "but I do not know if this meaning of the phrase is found elsewhere." *V. Mencius*, V.4.1.2.4. It is reasonable to suppose that a fish-pond keeper having the stewardship of fish would have all the fish he required to eat, without filching any sent as a present to his master.

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Under 10,105 the character 率 in the phrase 以此爲率 should be read *Lü*, not "shuai."

* * *

In Chinese official terminology there is quite a difference in the use of 毋 12,765, and 勿 12,774. 毋 is emphatic, and can only be used by a superior to a subordinate; while 勿 is just the reverse, that is, it can only be used by a subordinate when addressing a superior official. No Chinese subordinate would ever dare to use 毋 in any communication with a superior official. In the *Lun Yü* bk. vi. 雍也 ch. vi. (3 and 4), when *Yüan ssŭ* declined the 900 measures of grain, Confucius said "毋 Nay!" Dr. Legge translates "Do not decline," but the Master's 毋 "nay" was an emphatic command to one of his disciples which he had perforce to obey.

* * *

Although Nos. 578 and 579 are interchanged, 徹 cannot be used for 撤 in the phrase 撤查 as Dr. Giles says. This in official terminology means to "first *remove* from office and then investigate"; whereas, 澈查 (or 察 used for 578) means "to thoroughly investigate."

* * *

Under 8796 狽 Dr. Giles translates the phrase 狼狽爲奸 as "banded together as traitors." There is nothing radically wrong with this translation, except to note that it applies to only *two* men (or women) such as a superior and his subordinate, or a lady and her maid. That is, the principal is compared to the *lang* 狼 which is said to have long forelegs and short hind ones; while the secondary is compared to the *pei* 狽, which is said to have short forelegs and long hind ones: the idea being that the animal with the longest forelegs takes precedence over the one with the short forelegs, just as a master does over his servant.

* * *

It is rather difficult to understand how Dr. Giles came to translate *ch'in hsin* 琴心 (2019) as the "belly of a lute." We have here simply an echo of how the Chinese make love through music. This is what Ssŭ-Ma Hsiang-Ju used to captivate the charming *Wên Chün* (See Biog. Dict. No. 1753). That is, he excited her thoughts of love by playing on the lute: 以琴心挑之. In other words he 以琴達意也, made known his amorous intentions through the medium of the lute, so she fled with him that very night.

* * *

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No. 11,227 (腆) should be referred to 11,216 and not to *t'ien* 天. 腆 and 諂 are both read *t'ym* in Cantonese, and not *t'yn*.

* * *

A Cantonese phrase worth noting is 籐蟮溫猪肉. This is a "hotch-potch" of eel and pork, and a favourite dish in Canton. It has, however, in a metaphorical sense, other uses, e.g., to flog a child. *Cf.* our "rod in pickle," etc. The 籐蟮 is an eel long and slender resembling a rattan, which is 溫 "soaked" into the child's flesh 猪肉.

* * *

It is not clear why Dr. Giles separates the meaning of 稗 No. 8767 into two parts with the first meaning of "aid," "benefit," etc., and the second as "p'i," "small." All the examples given should have been entered under one heading and read "p'i" throughout, since there is no difference in the meanings whatever. Giles, moreover, does not state that 稗 and 稗 No. 8563, are interchanged, yet he has 稗官野史 and 稗官野史. Most Chinese use 稗 instead of 稗 in this particular phrase. And 埤 No. 9081, is interchanged with 稗 and 稗 in the sense of "small," "petty," "aid," "support," etc., because a rampart or parapet is called a "woman's wall" (女兒牆) or "auxiliary."

* * *

Dr. Giles misses a few points in illustrating the uses of the character 齣 No. 2625. It is derived from 齝 (or 齁) No. 2017, "to chew the cud," a satirical epithet applied to actors, alluding to their rhythmical movements on the stage—recalling what the ruminating animals do with their food,—and hence, the "act" of the play itself.

Giles does not give the common expression 搗嚼 "to chew the cud," nor the *wênli* form, viz., 反芻.

* * *

Under No. 13,409 Dr. Giles says that the 油葫蘆 "is a kind of cricket which sings during winter in stoves." These remarks should refer to the 竈馬 No. 11,625, commonly called "tsao wang ma-êrh" (竈王馬兒). In Canton they are known as *tso ha*, "stove shrimps." They are much smaller than the *Yu-hu-lu*, very light-green in colour, and having white legs with yellow stripes. They are popularly believed to be ridden by the Kitchen god; hence the name, "*tsao wang ma-êrh*."

The *Yu-hu-lu* (油葫蘆) is altogether a different insect. It is much larger than the *Tsao wang ma-êrh* or the common cricket. Its entire body is glossy black. It is the fashion at Peking for the idle class to keep them in highly decorated pottery jars

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during the spring. The most expensive jars are said to have been made by a man named Chao Tzŭ-yü (趙子玉), who lived during the reign of the Emperor Tao Kuang. During the winter months they are transferred to beautifully decorated and carved gourds fitted with a cotton case to keep them warm. These are kept in the bosom of the owner who carries them about with him wherever he goes ; and it is nothing unusual to hear the shrill grinding of the insect from its warm and safe refuge as a Chinese "swell" passes you on the street. During their confinement in autumn and winter, the insects are fed on masticated chestnuts and yellow beans. It is quite a common sight to see the idlers congregated in the tea-houses with dozens of these beetles laid out on the tables; their masters washing out the gourds with hot tea ; chewing beans and chestnuts and feeding them ; listening to the *yu-hu-lu* (the sound from which their name is taken) *yu-hu-lu*, of the insects, and boasting of their grinding powers. The *yu-hu-lu*, like the cricket, makes a buzzing sound produced by the friction of the bases of its wing-cases against each other.

They are exposed for sale at the bazaars for from 5 to 10 cents each ; the decorated gourds cost from 20 cents to $1.50 for the best. The pottery jars (except those made by Chao Tzŭ-yü mentioned above and which cost about $1.20 each), may be bought for 2 copper cents. They are, however, generally sold in sets of 12 ; this, because many of the Chinese rear hundreds of *yu-hu-lu* in their dwelling houses ; some of the rooms being filled with them ; the noise made by these insects being such that only a Chinese could stand it, without going crazy. The rich even employ experts to look after them.

The *kuo kuo* (蝈蝈) No. 6614, are treated and carried about in a similar manner to *the yu-hu-lu*. Giles says they are "a large kind of cicada." As a matter of fact, there is considerable difference between the two insects. The cicada can fly, but not the *kuo kuo*.

There are two species of *kuo kuo :* one about the size of a cricket, of a dark-greenish colour, and the other about the size of a cicada, which is of a greenish-blue colour. They make a noise by grinding their wings in a way similar to the *yu-hu-lu*, but make a sound resembling *kuo-kuo-kuo*, from which is derived the name *kuo kuo*.

The cicada 蟬 No. 349, has several local Peking names worth recording. The 秋凉兒 "autumn cooler" is also called 伏蝶兒. It is a small green insect common in the 7th moon. A small black one which appears during the 5th moon is called 熱兒. There

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is also a large black cicada called 吉了兒 in the city, and 大麻吉了兒 in the country districts.

* * *

Whatever 逢迎 No. 3569 may have meant in ancient times, it certainly does not mean "to meet guests," etc., nowadays; but to "curry favour, flatter," etc. 諂媚之意.

* * *

The changes that may be rung on most Chinese characters are interesting if not fascinating. Take as an example the character 磑 No. 12,616: *wei*,[4] grinding implements. It is also read *jui*;[4] and *wei*,[1] "to accumulate." When read *i*[2] or *chi*,[1] it means the upper and lower millstones. When read *kai*,[1] it means solid, substantial. Read *ai*,[1] it is "sharp"—as a knife said to have been used by Chou Wu Wang, and called *ai ai*. It is also read *mo*,[4] a millstone, the upper part of which is called *Yang* (the male principle of nature) and the lower *Yin* (the female principle), metaphorically used for crushing one between Heaven and Earth; a phrase used by Yang Hsiung (Biog. Dict. No. 2379) in his 太玄經. The Chinese frequently wrongly use 碓 for 磑 and call it *tui*. It is also the name of a special tea called 紅絲磑 produced in Anhui (also known as 紫筍茶). And 石磑 also means "snow-flakes" (not stone implements) and is taken from a line in a poem by 陸游.

* * *

苻 No. 3675 is commonly called 鬼目草 "devil's eye grass," and the seeds 鬼豆兒. 苻 is used with 荸 No. 3649. But what makes the character 苻 interesting is that it is the surname of Fu Hung (Biog. Dict. No. 587), whose surname was originally Yu Hu 有扈, subsequently changed to P'u (蒲). P'u Hung one day hearing the children on the street singing out that "grass and give is king"—艸付爲王—regarded it as a good omen and adopted 苻 as his surname; thus creating a family of kings and usurping Emperors. See also Biog. Dict. Nos. 478 and 579 for the history of his descendants.

Fu Hung is said to have been assassinated by one of his subordinate generals named Ma-ch'iu (麻秋), because having taken the title of Prince of the three *Ch'in*, he had his eye on the vacant throne after Shih Chi-lung's assassination (Biog. Dict. No. 1705).

* * *

A curious fact or legend connected with the *T'ung* 桐 or *Pawlonia* mentioned in the classics, of which the wood was used for making lutes, is recorded in the 埤雅 by 陸佃 (Biog. Dict. No. 1433), who is also the author of the 禮象, 春秋後傳, 鶡冠註 and the 陶山集. The 埤雅 professes to be a supplement to

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the *Êrh Ya*, classified under eight heads, comprising plants; trees; horses; insects; birds; fishes; fauna and astronomy. Under the heading 木 it is stated that the *T'ung* had one branch bearing ordinarily twelve leaves, but bore thirteen leaves whenever a moon was to be intercalated. Whether this story is on a par with the sacred tree that sprang from a hair in Eastern Thibet, I do not profess to know. I have seen quite a number of the *T'ung* trees, but must confess that I have never noticed this peculiarity, but I have company in my ignorance, since it is not known to the natives generally, if at all. More profound intellects than mine may, perhaps, be able to supply a satisfactory explanation. Note that the 埤雅 was originaliy known as the 物性門類.

* * *

The 鶐鴒 (No. 3934) "bird that is said to sing for the dawn to come," is also called the 城旦 (鴒 is frequently written 旦). This phrase originated from a form of punishment in vogue during the *Ch'in* and *Han* dynasties when the prisoners were compelled to repair the Great Wall at nights. The bird is said to cry out for the dawn owing to the severe cold; and so did the poor prisoners during the cold nights beyond the frontier, while working on the Great Wall, "long for the dawn."[1] The common name for the bird is 寒號虫 "bewailing cold insect." It is about the size of a lark, is of a dark ashy-grey colour, and has a very short tail and but few feathers, which makes it susceptible to the cold; v. 史記注 and 禮月令.

The large bats are also called *Han Hao Ch'ung*, *Ho tan* and *Ch'êng tan*. The droppings of both the bird and the bats are used as a medicine called *wu ling chih* (五靈脂). The Chinese believe that if this medicine is mixed with ginseng it is liable to cause death. The droppings of the common or small bat *Pien fu*, in Peking commonly called *Yen pien hu* (檐蝙蝠) when *fu* is pronounced *hu* 虎, are used as a medicine for sore eyes.

* * *

How an Emperor was cured of his partiality for oysters and the *raison d' être* for the latter's image in a temple.

A rather amusing incident connected with the Sui Emperor Yang Ti is given in the 酉陽雜俎. The story goes that the Emperor was exceedingly fond of oysters, hardly a day passing

1. "Long for the dawn,"—they probably "longed for Death!" Those who have read "Ruins of Desert Cathay" by Sir Aurel Stein will appreciate to the full the trials and utter misery the unfortunate levies must have undergone on the icy wind-swept desert wastes beyond the frontier.

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without the delectable and succulent bivalve gracing the Imperial table. Hitherto,—probably out of special consideration for the Emperor's palate,—the oysters practically opened of themselves, and were incidentally much appreciated by the Imperial cooks, who were thus not obliged to unduly strain themselves. One fine day, however, much to the surprise of the *Chefs*, a rather large-sized oyster resisted all the efforts of the whole *batterie de cuisine* to open it! This was something new; really disgraceful! Could this particular oyster have any inherent reasons for acting in such an arbitrary manner? Surely it must know that it will, eventually, have to submit to the will of the Lord of the Universe! So in fear and trepidation the *chef de cuisine* reported the bivalve's want of respect to the Emperor. But when the Emperor, who was a devout Buddhist, heard the story, probably fearing reprisals in the next world, he gave orders that the recalcitrant bivalve was to be left in peace.

It was therefore thrown on a table, and at midnight, to the astonishment of those present, the oyster slightly opened itself and emitted a faint gleam of light, which naturally led the onlookers to believe that it came from a precious pearl. But what was their further astonishment when at daylight the oyster fully opened itself and exposed to view a Buddha and two Bodhisattvas each surrounded by a beautiful halo!

The Emperor, much to his regret (since apart from his fondness for oysters, did they not also cleanse his system of evil humours?),[1] then and there made a solemn vow that he would never eat another oyster, and had a temple built which he named the 大興善寺, in which he placed an image of the spiritual oyster.

* * *

How a case of poisoning with the blood of a crane's head was discovered through the ignorance of a corpse examiner and the indiscreet utterances of a woman.

The Chinese are firm believers that the blood of a crane's head (仙鶴頭上血) is a virulent poison. Although this belief has existed for centuries, none of them have ever been able to prove by actual diagnosis that death was caused through the use of

1. In the North of China, tadpoles are eaten alive by the natives during the late spring and summer to cleanse the system of the poisonous gases of charcoal, etc., inhaled during the winter. At Canton, and other places, tadpoles are also swallowed alive to relieve congestion of the blood consequent upon bruises, etc.

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blood of a crane's head.[1] The discovery—if we may call it such—was left to a woman.

The following story is taken from the 折獄奇聞, "Extraordinary Criminal Cases : Decisions in." The dead body of a man having been found lying in a field, the corpse examiner or coroner who was deputed by the magistrate to investigato, reported that, although it looked like a case of poisoning, he was unable to diagnose the case correctly. The magistrate, under the belief that the corpse examiner was concealing the truth for the sake of a bribe, ordered that he be given 100 blows with the inevitable bamboo, and told him that he must clear the case up without further delay. Now, the poor coroner, who was perfectly innocent as far as bribes were concerned, and quite ignorant as to the true facts of the case, returned to his home that night feeling chagrined and dejected on the events of the day, and naturally rehearsed the day's comedy to his wife, more for the sake of consolation than anything else ; little dreaming what the outcome of it would be. His wife when she had heard the tale of woe said "It is indeed a mysterious case." "But," said she, "did you examine the skin beneath the eyebrows ? " " No," replied her spouse, " what have the eyebrows to do with a case of poisoning ?" " Oh, a great deal," she replied, " if any one is poisoned with the blood of a crane's head, seven tiny red specks appear on the surface of the skin beneath the eyebrows ; it is a sure test." The corpse examiner, although sceptical, the following morning proceeded to the spot and re-examined the dead body, and to his surprise, found that there were actually seven tiny red spots under each eyebrow. Highly elated at his new discovery, he reported the matter to the magistrate, naturally thinking that not only would his good name be retrieved, but he would have the added pleasure of receiving the latter's praise for his discovery. To his surprise, however, it was now the magis-

1. In the seventeenth and preceding centuries extremely exaggerated notions prevailed in Europe with regard to the potency of poisons that were then believed to be in use. Beckmarr in his *History of Inventions* traces the idea of secret poisons back to two centuries before our era, when such agents were believed to be in use in Rome.

While chemistry in China was cultivated in its infancy, it was not for the taking of human life, but to prolong it.

The annals of China afford no counterpart to those dark pages of European history which record the deeds of Tofana and Brinvilliers.

In Chinese popular novels, the plots very often turn on the crime of poisoning, but when the poison employed is named, it is always arsenic. In cases of poisoning in China where a woman is unfortunate enough to be implicated, suspicion would be almost certain to rest on her, on the Confucian apophthegm that, while men's hearts are benevolent, women's hearts are poisonous.

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trate's turn to be sceptical. "How is it that you did not mention this yesterday," roared the Father and Mother of the people, "but, instead, preferred to take a bastinado?" "Please, Your Honour," cried the poor coroner, "as cases of poisoning with the blood of a crane's head are few and far between, I had forgotten all about the true test to be made in this case." "That sort of story won't do," shouted the magistrate, "if you do not tell me the whole truth, I'll have you flogged within an inch of your miserable life." The coroner, seeing that further subterfuge was useless, made a clean breast of it, which, of course, involved his unfortunate wife. The magistrate, who had by this time already formed his own suspicions, instructed the coroner to bring his wife to the *yamên* for investigation. Upon her arrival, she was closely questioned regarding her professed knowledge of poisoning with the blood of a crane's head. During the course of the cross-examination, she confessed that this was her second marriage, and that she had poisoned her first husband, who was a cruel monster (note that nearly all Chinese women bring this charge), by mixing a few drops of blood which she took out of a crane's head, with wine, and gave him to drink. "But," said the magistrate, "how do you happen to know that poisoning with the blood of a crane's head would produce red spots under the eyebrows?" "Well, it was like this, Your Honour," said the woman, "my late husband had very *thin* eyebrows with hardly any hair on them at all, and on closely examining him to see if he was really dead, on peering into his face, I noticed that little red specks, seven under each eyebrow, had formed, and to my alarm, remained fixed there, even on the day of his burial, which took place seven days afterwards; so I concluded that they must have been the result of the blood of the crane's head I gave him; and when my present husband told me of the suspected case of poisoning which he could not diagnose correctly, I simply mentioned the fact to him, thinking that if there were any red spots under the eyebrows, it must be poisoning with the blood of a crane's head, as in the case of my first husband." A further examination of the dead body by the magistrate himself, confirmed the truth of the woman's confession, the red spots under each eyebrow being clearly visible. Needless to state, she did not receive any diploma for her researches in the toxicological field, but on the contrary, was punished with the full penalty of the law, i.e., by the slicing process.

* * *

(To be continued.)

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NOTES AND QUERIES

The Astronomy of P'u Sung-ling. [See *ante*, p. 153.]

Mr. H. A. Thompson contributes an interesting item, based upon "that insistent assurance" which he says is "characteristic" of me, couched in a polite terminology to which I have hardly been accustomed in the past, when "blanked cocksureness" would have taken the place of the two delicately chosen words above.

If Mr. Thompson is able to refer to the first edition of "Strange Stories," he will not find the words "which is impossible," now at issue. They were suggested by Mr. C. Brewitt-Taylor, who was with me in 1882 at Pagoda Anchorage, where he taught mathematics and astronomy to Chinese naval aspirants. His distinguished career in China is well known; I will merely say that he studied Chinese to such purpose that he could read "Strange Stories" in the original text,—an important point, as will be seen, in the present contention.

On receipt of Mr. Thompson's protest, I referred the matter to Professor H. F. Newall of this (Cambridge) university, with the following result:—

"If the moon was *new*, the mathematician (C.B.-T.) was right.

"If the moon was *old*, the mathematician was wrong.

"He of your Chinese text was looking westwards. If the moon was *new*, the sun would have set before the moon reached the horizon and a mountain there could not be embraced within the horns of a single thread of light.

"If the moon was *old*, the sun would still be *above* the horizon, when the moon might reach the horizon and with a single thread of light might embrace the peak of a mountain within its horns. But 'he' would have been a good observer and must have had a clear sky. So if he was, and if he had, the mathematician was wrong."

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Now it is clear from P'u Sung-ling's text that the hour was late and the sun invisible; and, therefore, as Mr. Brewitt-Taylor advised, the phenomenon recorded was impossible.

H. A. GILES.

The article on Sün-Tsz (Hsün Tzŭ) by Professor Parker (Feb. *Review*) is a welcome contribution to the study of this philosopher. It is high time someone took the task in hand of editing the whole of Hsün Tzŭ's writings, for their relation to, and bearing on, the rest of the Confucian Canon are most intimate and important. Foreign scholars have "extracted" him here and there, especially in reference to his controversy with Mencius' arguments on the nature of man. All students will recall Dr. Legge's translation of Hsün Tzŭ's important chapter on this subject in his Prolegomena to Mencius. Professor Giles has some remarks on the same subject in his Hibbert Lectures, with some additional notes on Hsün Tzŭ's conception of God. He was a thoroughgoing Confucianist; indeed, according to Dr. Legge, he is regarded by many Chinese scholars as the ablest of all the followers of the great sage. He discusses the same great topics, and his opinions generally are in line with the Master, but with a "liberal" tendency. The "orthodox" school, headed by Chu Hsi, however, exalted the exposition of Confucianism by Mencius at the expense of Hsün Tzŭ, and the latter sank into comparative neglect. It is not to be denied that Mencius has the advantage of a more vigorous style, and more argumentative skill. Hsün Tzŭ is heavy, and lacks the vivid and picturesque presentation of Mencius. At the same time, the younger philosopher makes some solid contribution to the subjects in hand, and his criticism of the early Confucian scholars reveals an independent mind.

By far the best summary of Hsün Tzŭ's work known to the writer of this note is that contained in Professor Hu Shih's "History of Chinese Philosophy," Vol. 1, Section 11 (胡適, 中國哲學史大綱). Although written in Chinese, it is in the new 白話 style, and easily understood by the average student. Professor Hu Shih has made good use of the commentary on Hsün Tzŭ by the Hunan scholar, Wang Hsien-ch'ien (王生謙, 荀子集解), who is recognized as the leading authority. In an able note he discusses the difficult question of the chronology of the philosopher's life, which the older commentators had got into an almost hopeless muddle owing to the misunderstanding of an obscure passage in Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien's biographical notice in the Historical Record, (史記孟子荀卿列傳). Two chapters are devoted to a careful

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discussion of the leading ideas of Hsün Tzŭ's philosophy, God and Man (天與性), and his psychological and logical conceptions (心理學與名學). These are outside the scope of this note. It is interesting, however, to find that in reference to the vexed question of the real meaning of Hsün Tzŭ regarding the nature of man, Professor Parker, in his article, comes to the same conclusion as the modern Chinese scholar, that what Hsün Tzŭ advanced was not that "men's disposition is naturally inclined to evil, contrary to Mencius' view that it is naturally inclined to good: what he really meant was to bewail the tendency of man to evil, while Mencius was all for persuading men to be good." Hsün Tzŭ, if I have caught his meaning, teaches that man is essentially free, with the power of choosing which direction he will take—towards good or towards evil.

J. WEBSTER.

NOTE BY DR. JOHN DARROCH

In the review of my "Chinese Grammar Self-taught" published in the August issue of your journal, for which I thank you, you admit that in discussions on Chinese, there is no finality; perhaps on that account you will permit me to wrangle with your reviewer in a friendly fashion on some of his criticisms. My critic asks, "Who said that 自己 was to be used in the singular number only?" Well, I did not. What I said was "There is no plural of 自己." That is evident enough. You cannot say 自已們. I did say that 自已 was used with plural pronouns, but that it was inelegant. It is not a question of what is right but of taste. In this there is abundant room to differ. If your reviewer thinks that 先生們自已的書 and 學生們自已的衣服 are good sentences, then I can only disagree.

I fear I cannot shelter under your charitable suggestion that I was nodding when I wrote the diagram on page 79 which places an object after the verb *to be*. The lesson there does not illustrate the formation of the verb but the mode in which the particle 的 connects an adjective sentence with its noun. The "object" is the object noun which is qualified by the preceding adjective sentence. This, I admit, is not clearly stated, but I hoped no one would misunderstand the construction. On the question whether 皆 is an adjective or an adverb, your reviewer is in good company when he classes it as an adjective. Hirth in his *Documentary Style*, page 18, gives a list of "adjectives" which follow their nouns. 皆 is amongst them, but I believe these are all adverbs.

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I have not followed some writers in insisting strongly on "position" as the test of the function of a word in a Chinese sentence. But "position" does mean more in Chinese than in English. Giles has pointed out somewhere that in the hands of a skilful Chinese writer any part of speech may be used as any other part: "A noun may be flung from his pen as a verb, etc." But if words, in Chinese, are plastic, idiom is adamant. Even the intractable English language is forced into Chinese idiom on the lips of all but very well educated Chinese. And idiom is largely "position." My critic gives me an English sentence, "all boys love play" and "boys all love play." In either case the "all" is an adjective. Its position does not affect its meaning. But that is the English language. Turn it into Chinese: 童子皆愛嬰. Now take the 皆 from before the verb and place it in front of the noun: 皆童子愛嬰. It won't do. Moreover, you find 皆 used as a verb: 四海之內皆兄弟也. The 皆 performs the function of the verb. Well, is it an adverb used as a verb, or is it a verb? It might be construed either way, but it could not be called an adjective.

[In justice to our reviewer, we point out that the question as to 自己 was elicited by Dr. Darroch's footnote to p. 51, in which it is said "Such a sentence is inelegant as dzī-gi, *self*, is a pronoun in the singular number." We agree that 自己們 is not permissible; neither is *sheeps* in English and, we take it, for the same reason.

Again, in speaking of 皆 *kiai*, all that was combated was that it is an adverb *in a certain given sentence*; the dangerous statement was not made that it is always an adjective.—*Ed.*]

* * *

It is pointed out by Rev. A. C. Moule that the 太平寰宇記 could not have been written by Chêng Hsüan, as Mr. Arlington states on p. 136. This writer died 780 years before the book in question was written . . . According to Wylie its author was Lo Shih 樂史, and it was published in the period T'ai-p'ing hsing-kuo (976-983).

* * *

We regret that by someone's carelessness half a character appears for the whole on p. 64, where 夲 has been printed for 獻.

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RECENT LITERATURE.

The Thousand Buddhas : Ancient Buddhist Paintings from the Cave-temples of Tun-huang on the Western Frontier of China. Recovered and described by Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E. With an Introductory Essay by Laurence Binyon. Published under the orders of H. M. Secretary of State for India and with the co-operation of the Trustees of the British Museum. Bernard Quaritch, Ltd., 1921. £7 10s. net. Plates XLVIII (mostly 24 by 20 inches). Text, pp. viii—65.

(For an appreciation of this important publication, see p. 401.)

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (*North China Branch*), Vol. LIII—1922.

The respective editors of the above *Journal* and of the *New China Review* must surely have many reasons for mutual sympathy. They work largely in the same field ; their labours are strictly honorary, and are performed in the midst of pressing duties ; they have similar problems to face. In the matter of material, for example, they have only the woman's choice in marriage, the right to say "No" as graciously as possible ; they are strictly conditioned by the offers they receive. In fact their only liberty is the liberty to edit as efficiently as possible, what they accept of what is sent them, and to write all such reviews of new books as they cannot cajole others into writing. So it must be with a fellow-feeling that the N.C.R. always greets a new issue of the J.N.C.B.R.A.S.

There are seventeen articles in this 1922 Journal, exclusive of obituaries, reviews of books, etc. Of these seventeen, ten are devoted to science, and occupy 138 of the 246 pages ; and this is a sign of the times. We are far from suggesting that scientific articles are not in order in such a Journal, for the matters they treat of may fairly be considered part of sinology, broadly interpreted ; and those who heard Mr. Sowerby's lecture on "The Natural History of China," and Captain von Heidenstam's on "The Growth of the Yangtze Delta" are only too glad to have

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them in permanent form, while any intelligent person can understand and enjoy that on Argali Sheep.

The point we wish to make is that all this science can be, and is, eagerly studied, with very little knowledge of the language or the people ; in fact, a very large proportion indeed of the new Journal's scientific contents seems to have come from those who do not speak, or at any rate, do not read Chinese, and what used to be regarded as sinology—the serious research into the Chinese language, literature, history, religions, manners and customs and so forth—is flooded out by scientific investigation ; a study of the resources, natural features, flora and fauna, etc., of the *land* of China, is taking the place of the study of the ancient civilization of her wonderful *people*. It may be gain ; it may be loss ; it may be inevitable ; but so it is.

No less than 90 of the 138 pages devoted to science are strings of names. Now what may be called by courtesy the Higher Sinology has often been complained of (we fear with excellent reason) as dry and unintelligible even to the ordinary educated person. But could anything be much drier or drearier than these long scientific lists ? Their *value* from the experts' point of view is doubtless great, but the interest is about equal for all others to that of one of the chapters of the Old Testament recording Jewish genealogies. We imagine most of those who know Chinese will turn from them with relief to the vigorous sparring of Professor Giles and Mr. Werner (pages 238-246)—about an alleged figure of Christ, of all things !—for that, at any rate, has a vivid human interest.

However, scientific knowledge has grown so enormously in extent during the fifty-three years which have passed since the Journal of the N.C.B.R.A.S. was started, that it would indeed seem to be high time for the scientific side of it to set up for itself. From this point of view we welcome the announcement recently made of the advent of the "China Journal of Science and Arts," to be started in 1923 by the Mr. Sowerby whom we have mentioned. We are by no means sure, alas ! that the non-scientific side of the R.A.S. Journal will revive as the result of this, for the number seems to decrease yearly of those who have leisure and/or inclination and/or talent seriously to study sinology as formerly understood.

Of the 108 pages given to it in the 1922 Journal, quite a good proportion is devoted to Chinese Poetry, Dr. J. C. Ferguson writing a very sympathetic article on "Fir-flower Tablets," and two translations of Chinese poems being given by Mrs. Elfrida Hudson and Rev. T. Gaunt respectively. Truly, as Professor Pelliot recently

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said in the T'oung Pao, " La poésie chinoise est à la mode ;" and from various indications here and elsewhere it would seem that Chinese *belles-lettres* are attracting more attention than the heavier branches of sinology, Mr. Hutson's article on " The Shuh Country " and Mr. Edgar's on " The Names of Non-Chinese Tribes in Western Szechuan" are, however, valuable contributions to our knowledge of West China, which is fortunate to possess two such observant and indefatigable workers in sociology and ethnology.

We hope that the overworked Editor can honestly lay some of the blame as to the very numerous mistakes on the authors and printers ; for to tell the truth, the proof-reading appears deplorable. We tremble to think how many errors there may be in the long lists of scientific names, or in such a highly technical article as " Oribatoidea Sinensis I ;" for in perfectly straightforward matter they are far too many.

For example, in Mr. Edgar's article where the Ch'iang tribes are treated of, the romanization of 羌 is indifferently aspirated or unaspirated. We notice, too, that " Szechuan " is spelt " Szechcwan " all the time with one exception. This may be a vagary of Mr. Edgar's ; but as it looks weird, and seems unpronounceable, we hazard the guess that a specially energetic *spiritus asper* was written, and has got into the body of the word. And is Mr. Hutson responsible for Chu Koh Liang instead of Chu-koh Liang ? These are defects in romanization ; but even the plain English is so peppered with slips that one fears a harassed Editor has had to work too much on his galleys alone.

From fault-finding, we turn with pleasure to say a final word about the " Reviews of Recent Books." This is always one of the best—because most generally helpful—sections of the Journal, and this year it seems to us specially copious and informing. The estimates are independent in tone, and some shrewd albeit good-humoured thrusts only increase our confidence in the appreciations given for our guidance.

Colloquial Sentences with New Terms : Chinese and English Texts. By Evan Morgan, 170 pp. Shanghai. Kelly & Walsh.

All great human movements inevitably produce great changes in language, and it is also inevitable that these innovations in speech and style should offend the taste of the conservative. Was it not Macaulay who wanted to have the candid opinion of Horace and Cicero on such Latin as "Et ideo cum Angelis et Archangelis, cum Thronis et Dominationibus . . . hymnum gloriae tuae canimus," which sounds to us so uplifting when we hear it in St. Peter's

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or St. John Lateran? And in like manner we wonder what Han Yü or Ou-yang Hsiu would have thought of the terms and style brought in by the new China.

We have been led to think thus by going through "Colloquial Sentences with new Terms," another of Mr. Morgan's helps to the study of Chinese. For the terms which have come into use through the Chinese Renaissance are, as is natural, mainly used by those who are filled with the new ideas, that is, those whose education on Western lines has not left them time to cultivate Chinese style as understood by the *literati*; while these, who have the fine old style at their pens' ends, often have not got, or do not approve of, the new ideas.

In Chinese, the mandarin is being enriched and improved, just as the modern European colloquials were enriched and improved at the close of the Middle Ages. Then, as now, the learned of the old school poured scorn on the new forms; then, as now, men in grim earnest were satisfied if their meaning was plain and clear; and just as the modern languages got at last a fine style of their own, so we may be sure will it be in China.

In any case, it is most important for all who wish to keep up with the times to be able to read and understand what the most progressive Chinese are writing to-day in newspaper, magazine and book; and Mr. Morgan can be of great service to all such.

The preface confesses, "Many of the sentences that appear under one heading might with equal propriety be placed under another," and indeed the classification is rather bewildering. However, the haphazard manner in which some of the matter is presented is not so great a defect as might be imagined, for this is not a book to learn by heart, or even (we think) to master section by section. It is a book for those to browse in who already know a fair amount of Chinese character, a book for those odd moments when anything more connected hardly seems worth while.

The great bulk of these sentences we are assured, have been culled from actual writings. Some of the new terms are happy and will live; others seem so unhappy that they may well die of grief. A great proportion of them must have come over from Japan, since that country responded first to the Western stimulus. What proportion, we wonder?

We have noted places where we think improvements could be made and mistakes rectified, *e.g.*, under ECONOMICS (7), The two words, *the period* are not represented in the Chinese. (62),—this sentence has greatly puzzled a very intelligent non-Christian who saw it.

Under EDUCATION (3), 國民學校, we understand, ought not to be "the schools of the Republic," but "primary schools," that

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is, schools which every citizen should enter. In (9) *Chih-kiang* should be *Chekiang*.

Under GENERALITY (which seems to mean miscellaneous), we have (9) "the simple brains (of some people) is directly but little different from that of primitive man." The English is unintelligible to us and makes us fear our own brains are being described! Under "LABOUR," from (40) the character 勞 has been dropped out after 力. In the English of (173) a misplaced comma destroys the sense. In (252) the English has two lines which are quite unrepresented in the Chinese.

We think these and kindred points should be rectified in a second edition, which we hope may soon be called for.

Hangchow Itineraries, by Robert F. Fitch, 2nd edition, Shanghai, 1922.

This is an attractively got up and admirably illustrated little book for the use of visitors to Hangchou. It is divided into six well-planned excursions in the city and round about the West Lake, each with a clear map and brief notes on the chief points of interest. While the book seems to be excellently adapted to its purpose and may be cordially recommended, it is not without small errors.

p. 4. It can hardly be the case that there are only two Buddhist monasteries in all China which have the power to confer ordination, as is here implied.

p. 27. "Hexagonal" should be "octagonal." The Liu ho pagoda, like the great majority of pagodas, has eight sides.

p. 33. The famous carvings of the Sixteen Lo-han are not "one of the ancient relics of the original Monastery," but were made in 1764, we believe.

p. 38. "It was destroyed by fire in the seventeenth century and rebuilt A.D. 1281-1320"!!

p. 45. The Bore is not mentioned by Chuang Chou; nor did Ch'ien Liu build "the *first* dyke walls."

p. 50-52. Many small criticisms suggest themselves, but would occupy too much space here. As an example we may take "A.D. 1130-1278." Where does Mr. Fitch read of Parsees, Christians, and Moslems in Hangchow during the Sung dynasty? Or take "A.D. 1278." The city surrendered to Bayan without fighting in the spring of 1276.

p. 53. The account of Christianity at Hangchou before the year 1600 is mistaken in many points. The one certain fact, we believe, is that a Nestorian convent was founded there about A.D. 1280.

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